50 Cents a Year | Published Monthly | 5 Cents a Copy

THE WOMAN VOTER

ORGAN OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

Vol. III. NEW YORK, JULY, 1912 No. 6

ANTI-SUFFRAGE NUMBER

Why Is An Anti?

Anti-Eloquence at Albany

An Anti-Suffrage Hearing

The Antis Speak for Themselves

"Onyx" Hosiery

Trade *Mark*

Silk

Men's and Women's Pure Thread Silk Hosiery in black and all colors unequalled for

Character, Quality and Integrity

at $1.00, $1.50 and $2.00 per pair.

Sold at the leading shops. If your dealer cannot supply you, we will direct you to the nearest one, or send postpaid, any number desired. Write to Dept. W. V.

Wholesale Distributors **Lord & Taylor** *New York*

METROPOLITAN DYE WORKS

WEIGLE & FUNKE

Cleaners and Dyers

OFFICES
114 WEST 39th STREET
140 EAST 49th STREET
771 THIRD AVENUE
674 MADISON AVENUE
1500 THIRD AVENUE
BRONX and 180th STS.
TELEPHONE CONNECTIONS

FIRST CLASS WORK
REASONABLE PRICES
PROMPT DELIVERY

OFFICES
362 COLUMBUS AVE.
514 AMSTERDAM AVE.
2515 BROADWAY
2645 BROADWAY
45 EAST 125th STREET
591 WEST 181st STREET
TELEPHONE CONNECTIONS

Works: WEST FARMS, NEW YORK CITY

TELEPHONE, 84 TREMONT

EXACT SIZE

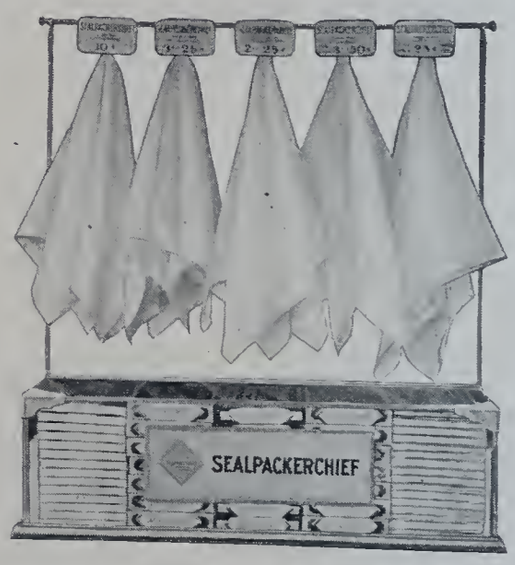
When you purchase *this* package, you obtain a handkerchief of exceptional value—beautifully hemstitched—soft laundered—spotlessly white—daintily folded, with insured purity from contamination.

SEALPACKERCHIEF IS THE ORIGINAL HANDKERCHIEF SOLD IN SEALED PACKAGES

This handkerchief is *your* handkerchief made for *you*, selected by *you*, and only handled by *you*. An exclusively *personal* handkerchief.

You *buy* from *exposed* samples in a SEALPACKERCHIEF cabinet, but you *receive* handkerchiefs of exceptional value; wrapped in purity tissue, and enclosed in a *sealed* dust and germ-proof *package;* which is never opened from maker to *you*.

SEALPACKERCHIEF handkerchiefs are perfect in weave; width of hem; regularity of hemstitching; clean, soft-laundered, snowy-white, ready for use, and costs you no more than ordinary loose-bought handkerchiefs.



LOOK FOR THIS CABINET AT YOUR DEALERS

SEALPACKERCHIEF BRANDS ARE MADE FOR WOMEN AND MEN

Ladies' Packages
Pure Irish Linen

Cambric	*Sheer*	*Containing*
No. 7	No. 8	1 for 10 cts.
No. 1	No. 2	3 for 25 cts.
No. 3	No. 4	2 for 25 cts.
No. 5	No. 6	3 for 50 cts.
No. 9	No. 10	1 for 25 cts.

Insist Upon
SEALPACKERCHIEF.
Look for the *name*. Refuse substitutes. If your dealer cannot supply you, we will send your selection, *prepaid*, on receipt of price. Address,

Men's Packages

	Containing
Banner	1 for 10 cts.
Pioneer	3 for 25 cts.
True Blue	2 for 25 cts.
Challenge, Pure Irish Linen	3 for 50 cts.
Gilt Edge, Pure Irish Linen	1 for 25 cts.

SEALPACKERCHIEF

TRADE MARK REG U S PAT OFF

136th Street and Willow Avenue, New York City

The Woman Voter

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF AND PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

A Union for political work of existing Equal Suffrage organizations in the City of New York

FLORENCE WOOLSTON, Editor

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

MARIE JENNEY HOWE
FREDERIC C. HOWE
AUGUSTA C. KELLOGG
BANNISTER MERWIN
IDA S. PROPER
HOWARD B. WOOLSTON
INEZ HAYNES GILLMORE
EDNA KENTON
ARTHUR P. KELLOGG
ANN STORY ALLEN MERWIN
FOLA LA FOLLETTE
BENJAMIN W. HUEBSCH

CONTENTS

Why Is An Anti? 3

What Has Become of the Antis in California?—Lucy C. Daniels Thompson .. 6

The Government is Mine 9

Anti Eloquence at Albany—E. Jean Nelson Penfield .. 10

Budgets of the Triangle Fire Victims—Elizabeth Dutcher .. 13

Extracts from "Our Friends—The Anti-Suffragists"—Mary Shaw .. 15

Chinatown 18

Anti-Suffrage Parade 21

Editorial Comment 25

Bronx Borough 27

Books 32

Published monthly at 30 East 34th Street, New York City

Subscription price yearly, 50 Cents — Single copy, 5 Cents

Telephone 6390 Madison — Advertising rates on application

AUGUSTA C. HUGHSTON, Business Manager

Entered as Second Class Matter at New York, N. Y. Post Office

Copyright 1912 by Woman Suffrage Party. All Rights Reserved

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

HEADQUARTERS, 30 EAST 34TH ST, NEW YORK CITY
Telephone 6390 Madison Square

The Woman Suffrage Party is an organization which seeks to unite, and utilize through political channels, the entire equal suffrage force in the City of New York. Its aim is to secure the submission of a woman suffrage amendment to the State Constitution and its adoption at the polls. To this end it is proposed:

1. To diffuse among voters and non-voters a wider knowledge and deeper understanding of the underlying justice and expedience of woman's demand for the ballot.

2. To enlist the active co-operation of men and women by means of a systematic, vigorous, educational campaign.

3. To conduct a non-partisan campaign with the object of securing the pledges of all candidates for the Legislature to vote in favor of the submission of the woman suffrage amendment; to hold Assembly District, County and City Conventions when deemed expedient; to nominate condidates for the Legislature and secure a place on the official ballot by petition, should the continued adverse attitude of the Legislature render such action necessary.

The women of New York will not be able to vote until a bill authorizing an amendment to the State Constitution has passed two successive Legislatures, and the amendment has been ratified by a majority vote at the polls.

To meet this difficult situation, the Woman Suffrage Party proposes to conduct a constructive, systematic, thorough campaign in the City of New York which will reach every man and woman in it. It will endeavor to enroll as members all men and women in each Assembly District who believe that women should vote in order that the rapidly growing sentiment in favor of equal suffrage may be united into a definite, positive force.

The Woman Suffrage Party is organized by Districts in imitation of the plan followed by political parties, that a practical demonstration may be given to our legislators and political parties that there is a decided public opinion in their constituencies which demands suffrage for women.

No obligation of money or work is laid upon enrolled members of the Woman Suffrage Party, but all such will be notified of meetings to be held in their Assembly Districts, and of the annual District Conventions at which Assembly District Leaders, Borough and City officers will be elected.

While work is not a necessary qualification for membership in the Woman Suffrage Party, yet, all believers in the cause are urged to activity. A woman suffrage club will be formed in each Assembly District and its members will pay regular dues.

New York must be converted; its intelligence must be convinced of the reasonableness of our demand; its conscience must be touched by the needs of women; and it must be made to feel that the enfranchisement of women is only another battle in the world's long struggle for human freedom.

The essential need at this time is numbers. We invite every suffragist in the City of New York to devote his and her zeal, enthusiasm and energy in helping to build up the Woman Suffrage Party in order that our great cause may triumph.

OFFICERS.

Honorary Chairman Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Chairman, Mrs. W. W. Penfield, 730 E. 242 St.
Vice-Ch'm., Mrs. Martha Wentworth Suffren, 68 Buckingham Rd., Brooklyn.
Secretary, Mrs. Thomas Wells, 46 West 9th St.
Treasurer, Mrs. Margaret Chanler Aldrich, 317 W. 74 St.
Asst. Treasurer, Miss Mary G. Hay, 30 East 34th St.

MANHATTAN BOROUGH.

Chairman, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, 6 E. 66th St.

BROOKLYN BOROUGH.

Chairman, Mrs. Robert H. Elder, 80 Willow St.

BRONX BOROUGH.

Chairman, Mrs. A. C. Fisk, 1567 Wilkins Ave.

QUEENS BOROUGH.

Chairman, Mrs. James H. Ecob, 100 Sanford Ave., Flushing, L. I.

RICHMOND BOROUGH.

Chairman, Miss Edith M. Whitmore, The Baltimore, Tompkinsville, S. I.

The Woman Voter

What is it? The official organ of the Woman Suffrage Party.

What has it done? It made the legislators see that their speeches and their votes were made known to their constituents; that woman suffrage is a power demanding their recognition and respect. The legislative articles in June, July, August and September have made the practical politician think, and they have shown the public what kind of legislation and debate went on at Albany in the interests (?) of women.

What can it do? Show every reader that woman suffrage means only *justice* to woman and *justice* to the country.

How can it reach the people who need it? By your help. The Woman Voter should go into every home, library, school, office, and factory in the state.

HOW CAN YOU HELP? Fill out these two subscription blanks and forward to The Woman Voter with $1.00. Get your friends to do the same. This one Great Service you can do the Suffrage Cause—increase our reading public.

The Woman Voter has already convinced many readers of the justice of the cause, converted many readers to the suffrage view and confirmed them in suffrage work.

WILL YOU HELP?

THE WOMAN VOTER,
~~No. 1 Madison Avenue.~~ 30 EAST 34th ST.

Enclosed find $..... for which please send The Woman Voter for one year to

Name.....	Name.....
Address.....	Address.....
Date.....	Date.....

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
Metropolitan New York Library Council - METRO

https://archive.org/details/womanvoter00woma_22

The Woman Voter

ORGAN OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK

HEADQUARTERS, 30 EAST 34TH STREET TELEPHONES, 6390-6391 MADISON SQ.

JULY, 1912

ANTI-SUFFRAGE NUMBER.

Why Is An Anti?

PERCY MACKAYE.

To some folks inertia becomes an ideal, to others—elasticity.

The former are Antis.

Some conceive the human species as two: men and women; others as one: mankind.

The former are Antis.

To some, self-government appears selfishness; to others it appears self-respect.

The former are Antis.

Some folks don't naturally believe in folks.

Why?

Perhaps because they don't believe in themselves.

DOROTHY DIX.

The only real argument against suffrage for women is the Anti, herself. That there could be a woman with no desire for political freedom in her soul and with so little self-respect she does not object to being classed with idiots, the insane and the criminal almost makes one doubt that women are prepared for the ballot.

MARY WARE DENNETT.

To help the suffrage cause along—to be sure!

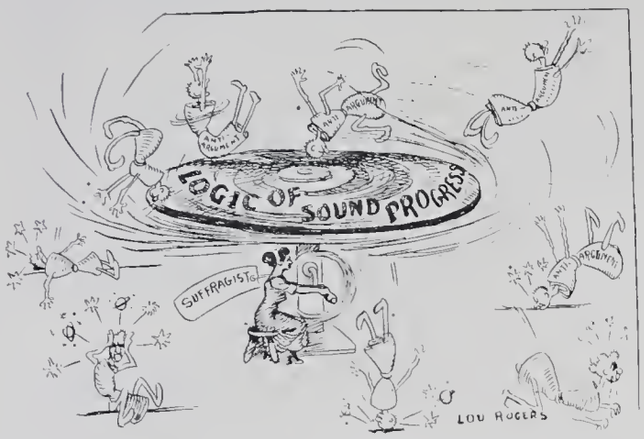
GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY.

The main reason for an Anti is the sincere doubt of the propriety and advantage of the vote for women. I think this doubt arises from the false conception of woman's place, which centuries of masculine domination have impressed upon the entire environment in which both men and women have been trained. I think it largely due to the utterly false conception of what government should be and do. I think it also due in considerable degree to the unwarranted fear that the beautiful temper of chivalry from men to women will be eliminated by a complete recognition of essential equality. I am sorry also to be too well assured that many an Anti is such because of opposition to the fudamental principles of democracy. Believing as I do that the cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy, I think the only cure for many Antis is a generation or two of woman suffrage, which will beget a truer note of self-respect for the "eternal feminine."

BOLTON HALL.

Because "it hurts the head to think; try it and see."

COPYRIGHT 1912 BY WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.



THE BUZZ-TABLE.
THEY CAN'T STAY ON!

CHARLES L. GUY.

The real ground of the opposition is that the enfranchisement of women means democracy, self-government by all the people, rather than by a privileged few. When they say that the majority of women are unfit to use the ballot they mean that the *majority of the people*, both men and women are unfit, and they would take it away from most of the men, if they could. It is the old battle between privilege and democracy, between the few and the many.

JESSIE ASHLEY.

An Anti male or female is an inevitable product of our economic system which allows some to live in idle luxury while the large majority are overworked, underfed and subjected to preventable disease and accident from the cradle to the grave. Make it necessary for every man and every woman to do some socially useful work and the genus Anti will disappear forever.

HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW.

Suffragists are not prone to put the sexes in two different columns and everlastingly subdivide and differentiate their common humanity; but Antis revel in classification along sex lines so in answering this Sphinx-like query, I will distinguish the male and the female of the species.

Why is a male Anti? For the same reason that an egoist is, a hypocrite is, a corrupt politician is, a vice panderer is, a traditionalist is, a privilege grabber is.

Why is a female Anti? For the same reason that a slave is, a snob is, that a parasite is, an idler is, a sentimentalist is, a pleasure-seeker is, a social-industrial waste product is, a dabbler is, a clinging vine is, a political nonenity is.

MARY SHAW.

An Anti-suffragist is a person who does not comprehend the scope and meaning of life. A reactionary who is a dead weight in a democracy. The "why" of them is the same mystery as the presence of evil, slavery and disease. Probably to make us see clearer the truth of good, freedom and health.

BENJAMIN C. MARSH.

Because she doesn't see that she can't be represented in government and get just government through her husband, brother or son, any more than male voters can through the most benevolent bosses.

Because she doesn't understand the change in economic and industrial conditions.

Because she doesn't realize that government alone can improve conditions, and that church and charity to which she has devoted so much time are outgrowing their usefulness.

Because she has been helpless so long that she thinks her helplessness is a condition of status not of contract to be changed by the vote.

HAROLD SHAFTER HOWARD.

The why of the Anti is barbaric power and intense instinctive dread of loss of that power under a civilized code of social and political life. The Anti loves the so-called "good customs" which have kept women political parasites and men social parasites—but completed human beings are in favor of the extermination of both forms of parasitism and welcome the coming of the new order.

FRANCES MAULE BJÖRKMAN.

An Anti is because of a crank. She exists to provide the necessary friction so that the wheels of progress may not move too fast for the slow-thinking, slow-moving mass. Let us be grateful to the poor Anti and her humble function.

MARIE JENNEY HOWE.

Most Antis are women who have not had to face the facts of life. Their social code is: "I do not need to vote. My husband is good to me. I am perfectly comfortable."

These wise impersonal philosophies constitute for them the summary of existence for all humanity. Their minds wear blinders. It is the duty of a suffragist to take off—not tear off—the blinders of the Antis.

MAX EASTMAN.

An Anti is, for the same reason that a blue-stocking is—namely, that people with an ideal cannot refrain from dogmatizing. Women who like to stay at home and be domestic, cannot refrain from laying it down that all women ought to stay at home and be domestic. They are Anti-Suffragists. Women who like to get out-doors and achieve, cannot refrain from ordering everybody to get out and achieve. They are the blue-stockings. But these two have exactly the same dogmatism. Most of us have. We are missionaries advocating ourselves, we make virtue for everybody consist in what we find it convenient and pleasant to do.

But there is a resolution alive in this world to leave people free to differ from each other. There is a recognition that each individual has a unique problem of life, which he or she must solve in a unique way. That resolution, and that recognition, is democracy.

Democracy is not a dogma—it is the repudiation of dogmas. Democracy confides to those who understand her, that she does not advocate any type of man or woman. They whose character and circumstances find this true unfolding in a life domestic, or devotion to a house and home—she joyfully receives them. Let them be that which they are. But let them recognize that other characters in other circumstances will not find this true unfolding so. They also must be free to be that which they are. This is the only dictate of democracy. This is the inmost and the sure enthusiasm of her children. This is how they differ totally from all who are addicted to a dogma, whether it be on one side or the other. They differ in the largeness of their minds, which can accept the whole variety of wills and circumstances in the world. And this is why they will inconquerably win the world.

FRANKLIN P. ADAMS.

Go to the Anti, thou doubter; consider her ways and get wise.

ELLIS O. JONES.

An Anti is because: Antiism is much favored by because women. A because woman is one of those old-fashioned creatures who says "because" and thinks she has stated a reason. A because woman doesn't have to think, for the reason that she is standing still. It takes thought to move. Many an Anti is not even an Anti. She is merely a non-anti-ty, which is just the same as the word it sounds like.

ANNA H. SHAW.

For the life of me I do not know why is an Anti. The only reason that seems possible to me is that an Anti-suffragist is an Anti-Democrat who does not believe in the rights of human beings because they are human beings, only the right of privileged persons because they are, or have been, privileged.

An Anti-Suffragist is an Anti-Christian, because it is against the Christian theory of government which, if it emphasizes anything, emphasizes the responsibility and the obligation of individuals and no one can represent another in the government any more than they can represent them in the kingdom of the spirit.

As far as we have any evidence of the Divine government it is democratic and to be Anti-democratic is to be opposed to the Divine Will.

JOHN DEWEY.

Some Antis are because they have no imagination; hence they take whatever they are used to as the eternal nature of things. All Antis are as evidences of the effect of the lack of suffrage and as an argument for its existence.

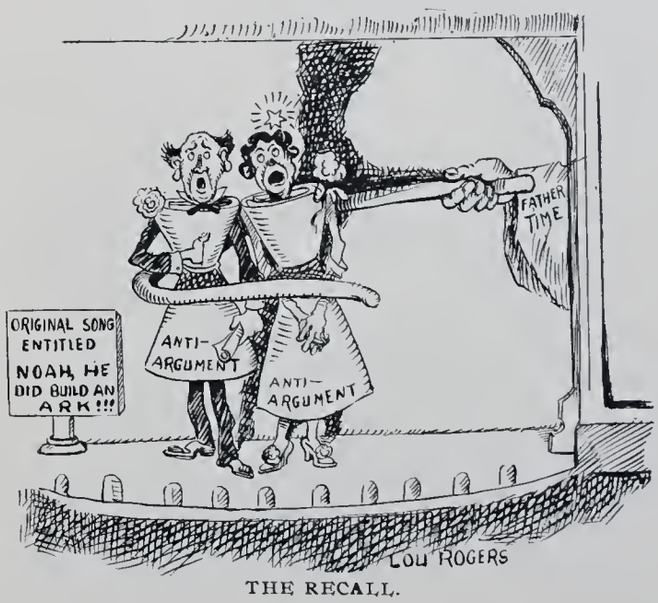
VELMA SWANSTON HOWARD.

Why is any obstructionist to any forward movement?

Who answers that has solved the "why" of the Anti.

NORMAN HAPGOOD.

There are always those who hang back and those who go forward, and presumably must ever be.



THE RECALL.

AGNES E. RYAN.

Without question the Anti-Suffragist of to-day is a valuable adjunct to the suffrage cause. She aids us more than even the most generous usually realize.

In the first place, she is an educator not to be scorned. In her every move she educates, not only her own dear self, but the great public and us! For, as a matter of fact, does she not crystallize the opposition and furnish the text of at least half our speeches?

In the second place, she is a safeguard—not to say safety-valve. With her nonsense she keeps the Suffragist humble and she flaunts our flaws forever in our face. And who can be a better benefactor than she who stands ever by, turning weakness into strength? Chief ally of the suffrage cause is the Anti. Would that there were an army of her!

JESSE LYNCH WILLIAMS.

Because "Woman's Sphere is the Home"—and the Anti can't see that the home has gone out of the house.

HOWARD WOOLSTON.

Progress involves change of habits and the disturbance of established institutions. Therefore the process of reconstruction is distasteful and at times difficult.

JAMES OPPENHEIM.

The reason is the so-called woman's reason—just "because."

INEZ HAYNES GILLMORE.

Only the Good God knows.

WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE ANTIS IN CALIFORNIA?

BY

LUCY C. DANIELS THOMPSON.

WE know that there were Antis in California before the suffrage amendment passed. We used to hear of them occasionally, especially after Miss Minnie Bronson, with that "blind side" toward suffrage matters, which makes her such a star performer in the field of partisan advocacy, was sent out from the East to encourage them in their perverted attitude towards the enfranchisement of their sex. We know that there were enough men in the State opposed to suffrage to reduce the majority in its favor to the narrow margin of a few thousands. We know that immediately after the passage of the amendment, a petition was circulated asking for its repeal, and we are told that this petition had thirty thousand signers.

Naturally, knowing these things, we might have expected, on going into the State at the time of the Presidential primary campaign early in May, only a few months after the amendment had passed, to find the band of women who had worked for suffrage pushing their way into the political life of the State with great difficulty, meeting with obstacles and opposition at every turn. But we neither expected nor found anything of the kind. We couldn't get the sensation even of being in the midst of an experiment. That stage had been skipped apparently. Equal suffrage had become a fact in the life of the State, and with the admission of women to full citizenship, all the old antagonisms and questionings had dropped out of sight. The women were going about their political duties with the air of veterans, receiving from the men, the former holders of the citadel, not only a hearty welcome, but marked consideration and respect. They were to be found in the political headquarters, helping in the arrangement of meetings and the assignment of speakers; they were present in large numbers at all of the great political gatherings, while the best of the speakers were detailed also to present the issues of the campaign to them separately at their own clubs and special meetings. There was nothing in the appearance of things to show how recently the great change had been wrought. What did it mean? What had become of the forces that had fought against this new order?

It's a mere matter of minds. The type of mind which characterizes the Anti-Suffragist, takes its stand always on that which exists. When a change is proposed, it fights. It thinks it is fighting the principle involved, but it is really fighting only the change. Set things ahead a little. Let the change be accomplished, and at once that becomes to a mind of this type the established order, serving as a new vantage ground from which to fight the next proposed change.

Let me give an illustration or so. I was told of a family of bitter Anti-Suffragists in Southern California, a mother and her two married sons. "If my wife should ever vote," said one of the

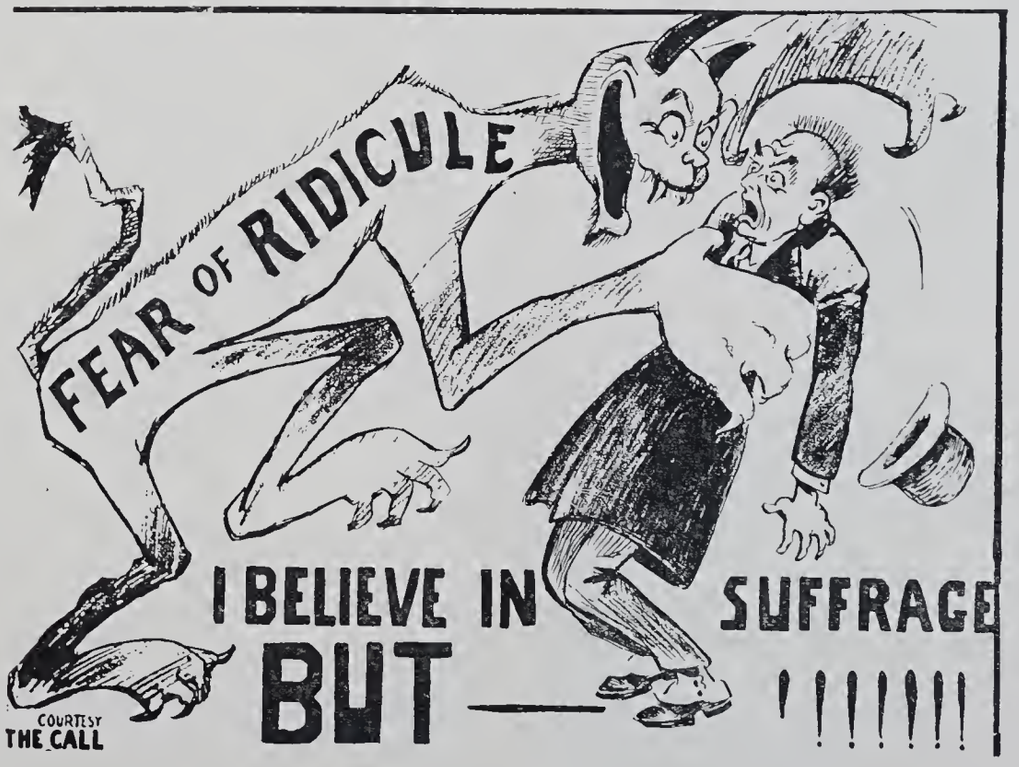
sons, "she would cease to be wife of mine." When he registered this Spring, his wife went with him and registered also. When the other daughter-in-law registered, the mother accompanied her. Matters which concerned them were to be voted upon and their votes had become valuable assets.

A young man told me that he had been strongly opposed to woman suffrage and had done his "little best" to prevent the passage of the amendment. "But it went through," he said, "and I mean to get all I can out of it. I've had my wife and sister register, and we'll cast three votes in our family this year instead of one." Incidentally he implied that his was the master mind and that the votes would be his. I wondered.

In a certain exclusive district of San Francisco, the majority against equal suffrage was very large, indicating, of course, not only that the men were opposed, but that the women were either opposed or indifferent. But one of these women told me that she and most of her friends had registered and expected to vote. Their husbands had urged them to do it, she said. Why? Because their votes were needed to represent in due proportion the interests of their class. You may not like this reason but it is a legitimate one. In a true democracy every voice must be able to make itself heard, presenting its individual needs and desires. Education, not suppression, must be the watchword. Social justice will be done only when the majority has come to see that the interests of the individual are best served when the interests of all are well served.

The moral of these little stories is that people are not always actuated by the motives they think they are, and that the pet arguments of the Anti-Suffragists—the disrupted home, the neglected child, the de-womanized wife and mother—cease to be bogeys when viewed in the light not of a proposed change but of an accomplished fact. A man who thinks he opposes suffrage on all these grounds in the Fall may find himself going to the registration booth and to the polls with his wife in the Spring without misgivings or fears. This is what happened to a large number of men in California who were opposed to suffrage.

And the women? Accepting the dictum of the *Outlook* that all women not actively favoring suffrage are opposed, we shall have to include among the Anti-Suffragists, both those active in opposition and the indifferent. Among the indifferent there are two classes also, those who are only waiting for the right appeal, and those of such narrow natures that no appeal can arouse them to a sense of responsibility. The men and women of the latter class furnish the chief problem in democratic government. We might theorize that wherever the franchise is extended to women, the women, to make use of it would be, first, those previously in its favor; second, those who had previously been actively opposed—conservative, but of too positive and militant natures to be willing, when their fight against the new order had failed, to leave the conduct of affairs wholly in the hands of their Suffragist



sisters; and third, the previously indifferent, who needed to arouse them just the stimulus which the granting of full citizenship supplied. This theoretical grouping fits perfectly the facts as observed in California.

Those who were active in the suffrage movement, of course, continue their activity, splendidly equipped for their new duties by the experience gained in the suffrage campaign. They are to be found leading in all the new undertakings by which the women of the State are seeking to realize the purposes for which they asked the ballot. They have been joined, with the enthusiasm of the recently converted, by those to whom suffrage has opened up a new world of opportunity. I met in San Francisco an old friend who had been among the indifferent, an earnest, thoughtful woman, but with interests previously limited to the traditional woman's sphere. "I couldn't possibly tell you," she said to me, "all that the mere fact of having the suffrage means to me, how wonderfully it has broadened my life, how it has filled it with new interests. I feel both a new respect for myself and a new responsibility toward the community. My eyes have been opened to a multitude of things which never before made any impression upon me. It's like beginning life anew."

A woman of a different stamp, a society woman whose life had been largely devoted to pleasure, told much the same story of her own experience. The realization that she had been lifted from her position of irresponsibility to one of co-responsibility for all public action, came to her as a breath of new life, filling her with new purposes. She had abandoned bridge and similar diversions, and set to work enthusiastically studying social and political conditions, "trying," she said, "to make up for all the time I have wasted." This sounds like the testimony of a religious convert at an "experience meeting." And it rests indeed on a similar basis, the coming of a great interest to life one above self, out of the narrow life into the broader one. These formerly indifferent women are the ones who are filling the civic leagues in California and the study clubs, preparing themselves earnestly for their new duties.

And many of those who were actively opposed to suffrage are also to be found in the political ranks, seeking to preserve by the use of the ballot the *status quo*, which they once hoped to preserve by the denial of the ballot. This statement of their purpose is fair, however, only as applied to the class. There are notable exceptions, women sincerely interested in social reforms. With the necessity gone, which their conservative natures laid upon them, of trying to maintain a passing order, these women are joining with their freed energy in that task of bettering and sweetening the common lot, upon which the women of California have entered with a clearness of vision, a steadfastness of purpose and an orderliness of effort never exhibited before by any newly enfranchised body of voters.

ANTI LOGIC.

BY

META L. STERN.

"ANTIS go to Wisconsin for fight on suffrage. New York women, who say home is at stake, prepare for Western trip."
—Press report.

They have packed their trunks and satchels,
  They are rushing for the train,
They are going to Wisconsin,
  Bound to fight with might and main.
They have left their homes and children,
  From their husbands far they roam,
Just to tell the other women
  That a woman's place is home.

They have studied books and pamphlets,
  Old traditions, time-worn laws,
All the arsenal of ages
  To combat a winning cause;
And the cells of her cerebrum
  Every anti wildly strains,
Just to tell the other women
  That they have inferior brains.

They own stocks and bonds and mortgage,
  Have a bank account or two,
And control their children's welfare
  Just as much as fathers do.
They've had college educations,
  And may work at what they choose;
They can even speak in public
  Without insult and abuse.

Do they ever stop to ponder—
  Ah, I wonder—do they know
How these rights they take for granted
  Meant a struggle long and slow,
Fought and won by noble women
  Who for them have paved the way,
Bitterly opposed by antis,
  Antis of a by-gone day?

No, they do not stop to ponder,
  For no harm they ever see
In the things that are, but only
  In the things that are to be.
So the onward march of progress
  Still beholds the antis taunt,
Come to tell the other women
  They have all the rights they want.

The Woman's Journal.

THE GOVERNMENT IS MINE!

"The movement must be quelled, if it is quelled at all, by the men. **They must make it plain to the women that they intend to retain possession of the Government and all the forces which maintain the Government.**"-*The New York Times.* Editorial, May 11, 1912.

PRESERVING THE PLUMS

"There is no reason to suppose that the right to vote would allay feminine discontent. Granted the suffrage, they would demand all that the right implies. It is not possible to think of women as soldiers and sailors, police patrolmen, or firemen, although voters ought to fight if need be, but they would serve on juries and elect themselves if they could to executive offices and judgeships. Many of them are looking forward to an apportionment of high offices between the sexes. This may seem preposterous to some of the men who choose to smile complacently at the aggressiveness of the women's rights adherents, but it is true. It is a state of things these men will have to cope with before they die if they do not arouse themselves and do their duty now."-*The New York Times.* Editorial, May 5th, 1912.

LOU ROGERS.
Courtesy of
The Call.

ANTI ELOQUENCE AT ALBANY

In the upper division of the Legislature this year, Senator McClelland appeared as the chief champion of women who would not have an unwelcome burden thrust upon them, and, although Senators Hinman and Ferris "stood by" with no apparent abatement of their old-time anxiety to support the lady on the pedestal, and two new defenders of the clinging vine appeared in the shape of Senators Thomas and Sage, truth compels us to give the laurel wreath to Senator McClelland, who bestowed this year on "lovely womanhood" all of the fervid eloquence of which he is so capable and which was wasted last year on such things as oleomargerine and butterine. When one recalls the thrilling pathos with which the senator dealt on a hot July day last year with such a material thing as oleo, we do not wonder that the Antis chose him above all the other senators to go with the drawn sword of such eloquence to the defence of their cause. If the senator seemed to see in his mind's eye "fair Tammany" also, as he went so nobly to the defence, who could blame him? Is there not another nomination to be sought this Fall, and does not the senator still live in Eastchester? In vain did Senator Sullivan seek to draw Senator McClelland from the cloudland of history back to simple practical facts about the ballot of to-day. He had started in with Napoleon's mother and Florence Nightingale; had paid his respects to Cornelia, Victoria, Cleopatra, the mothers of Washington, Lincoln and Edwin Forest and he would not be stopped.

It is with deep regret that we cannot give the senator's eloquent speech in full, but a few choice gems toward the last are given with the hope that the Antis may be able to use them in their debates.

Senator McClelland: "In referring to the success of women as queens, let me call your attention to the reign of one of the queens. I refer to Catherine the First, of Russia. Read the story of that queen and if it does not bring the blush of shame to the face of every woman, then I do not understand what will appeal to womanhood. Why, when Great Cyrus crossed the Aroxes, the queen of the invaded country took his head and cut it from his body and filled a caldron with blood from Persian soldiers and threw the head into the caldron and said: 'There, drink all the blood you desire.' Eugenia, the Empress of Napoleon Third, pulled the dynasty of Napoleon down to defeat. It was her advice to Napoleon to commence that fatal war against Russia that resulted in Suydam and sent Napoleon in exile from France; and the solitary figure of Eugenia can be seen walking the streets of Paris occasionally with that queenly gait as she goes to Notre Dame and kneels there before the signal light prayers."

"And the sad story of the Prince Imperial constitutes one of the most pathetic incidents in French history. . . . It is history all along. Even great Elizabeth, her reign was not free from scandal."

Senator Sullivan: "If the senator is through talking about all these distinguished ladies . . . a lot of it I have heard for the first time . . . I should like to ask the senator a question. Did you know all these facts thirty years ago and if you did, why did you vote for woman suffrage thirty years ago in the Assembly?"

Senator McClelland: "A frank confession is good for the soul. I did not."

* * * *

Senator McClelland: "I have thought this thing over seriously, and I have conferred with ladies upon this subject and discussed it, and I came here to-day because it seemed to me that nobody was prepared to present the case of those who are opposed to woman suffrage." (We wonder that Hinman, Ferris, Thomas and Sage ever spoke after that!) "I came here to-day to do it in this way. Let us look at this matter calmly. Let us try and do justice to the ladies, and either way this is decided I will not feel at all disturbed." The only thing that seemed to really disturb the senator was getting the historical data out of his system. Not so Senator Sage, however, who declared that "woman suffrage is the most serious question before the people of the United States to-day," and was truly wrought up (as was also Senator Thomas), not so much over what foreign queens had done as over what the American ones, who have no crowns, were liable to do.

Senators Bayne, Stilwell and Burd made able, dignified, practical speeches in favor of equal justice, which we wish might be in the hands of every suffragist in the State, but which space does not permit us to publish.

The fatalistic note in all of the opposition speeches, in both Senate and Assembly, was notable. We no longer heard the old, familiar jests, but we constantly caught the desperately wrought admission of the inevitable. Indeed, one was forced to suspect that in spite of themselves, the men's hats were coming off in recognition of a real political issue and in the excited skirmish for votes on the Cuvillier roll call vote, we could well have been deceived into thinking that the opposition really had coats as well as hats off.

In the Assembly, Mr. Murray made a clean-cut, able appeal for the completion of our democracy. Assemblymen Chanler, Brooks, Greenberg, Slater, Merrill, Banzhaf, Heyman, Prime

and Willmot also spoke ably in favor of the bill, while Assemblymen Hinman, Cuvillier, Sullivan, Patrie, A. E. Smith, A. J. Levy, Kopp and Rozan were heard against it. We cannot resist giving one choice, bit from an Anti speaker in the Assembly, Mr. Rozan, of Erie, especially as we hear the Antis mean to suppress him another year and our readers may never again have the opportunity of knowing the quality of intellect that finds voice against the great cause of equal justice in our legislative halls. We quote with apologies to all concerned.

Mr. Rozan: "Now, I believe it is wrong to say that woman wants our seat and we must stay home and light the fire in the morning. I think they are not superior to us and unable to resist those bad influences of the stronger sex. The word politician as it is now, means a grafter. Means a thief—means everything bad, which even Webster never knew. A few weeks ago I happened to be sitting leisurely in my hotel when I saw a woman leading a little baby; on the corner a gust of wind took her hat. She started after her hat. The little baby followed her to the street. The woman stopped running after her hat and turned back and in a minute—when she could be run over by a street-car every moment—or by an automobile, to take care of this little baby and safely she carried it on the sidewalk. Now, gentlemen, picture that for yourselves. That is the kind of the woman, that is the kind of our mother, our wife, our sister, which we want to keep away that such an epithet as a politician shall not be applied to her in the future."

In Mr. Cuvillier's introduction is found the following: "There is to my mind two matters to be considered, that is woman and this nation. Will it destroy the woman or will it destroy the nation? Now they are the two propositions."

Mr. Patrie, of Greene, in urging support of the Constitution, pleaded with the men to be firm "no matter if New Zealand or Australia or some Western State that is full of anarchy, has woman suffrage." As an offset to these sad pictures, we close with one given to the Assembly by Mr. Chilton, of Kings, who, in answering the assertion that woman suffrage would destroy the home, said: "If women were invested with the right to vote, politics would become a family habit and the men who are too lazy to think of the question and too lazy to vote, would have to vote and the children that are growing up would have politics to discuss in their own home and would be better voters."

—E. J. N. P.

AN INTERVIEW IN A SKY-SCRAPER—THE HEIGHTS OF CHIVALRY.

"NO," with snap turtilian accents, declared the grave and reverend senator, of the people, for the people, by the people, "I *don't* believe in woman suffrage, because women have no comprehension of truth!"

"Have men any more?" asked the suffragist of the sex yclept "illogical."

"Much more—I have proved that fact in my law practice, cross-examining witnesses and"—with the gentleness of a lawn mower, he added—"Women have *no* common sense what-so-ever!"

"Do you mean that women are liars and fools by nature—are they born so?" vouchsafed the illogical lady.

"Of course they are not *born* so—they are just trained that way—but I am not going to say anything about woman suffrage, I won't commit myself by saying anything about anything, I just won't get caught!" announced the voice of the people, for the people, by the people.

It rained and the illogical lady, remembering the high cost of clothing, lingered; their discourse avoided politics.

"Do you think training for girls and boys should be similar?" asked the illogical lady. "If you had a daughter would you educate her as you would her brother or differently?"

"*Absolutely differently,*" replied the grave and reverend one. "I believe in the good old-fashioned *feminine* way of bringing up girls."

The rain ceased—and when the illogical lady was lifted by the lift from the top floor of *un*-common sense to the level of terra firma, she was giggling obviously, for she has a very serviceable sense of humor (congenital).

And thus she ruminated: "What things they say!—even our fathers, brothers, husbands, friends—the elect and the elected—but they don't mean it, *really*. Every day they are learning better. Bless them!

ANNA ROSS WEEKS.

"There was an old dame in a huff;
'Women don't want the vote,' she cried—'stuff!'
When they said 'But we *do*,' she answered 'Pooh pooh!
I don't—and let that be enough!' "

The Vote, London.

EDITORIAL POLICY
THE
NEW YORK TIMES.

AN ANTI PARADE NEEDED.

SHORTLY before the great suffrage parade of May 4th, the New York *Times* published an editorial note entitled "Another Parade Needed"; in which it was suggested that the Antis should show that they were not merely "ignorant or indifferent" by parading the streets, as the Suffragists were about to do, and give an indication of the strength of the opposition to the equal franchise movement.

A suggestion was made to the *Times* (which suggestion was apparently not accepted) that their idea, while worthy of commendation, should be amended so as to include in the ranks of the Anti parade not only the supposedly ignorant or indifferent, but also that overwhelmingly preponderant class of Antis, the corrupt and vicious interests who fear the moral influence of women in politics and who are lavish with their Anti-Suffrage contributions but who usually hide their identity. The result would doubtless be most illuminating and educating to good, respectable Antis who are surely ignorant of the element with which they have unwittingly allied themselves.

An instance of this kind of ignorance occurred during the California campaign. A prominent California woman, noted for her generous public spirit, made a large donation to the Anti-Suffrage campaign fund of that State. A few days before the election she discovered to her horror that one of the largest contributors to the Anti fund with her was the notorious owner of a chain of disreputable houses. She said, "That is sufficient argument for me," and immediately she publicly espoused the suffrage cause.

Good Antis, beware your friends!

JAMES L. LAIDLAW.

APPROPRIATE GEMS FOR FOURTH OF JULY ORATORS.

Some time ago, the Honorable Lee O'Neil Browne, of Illinois, said: "I honor women too highly to allow them to descend into the dirty pool of politics." These extracts from anti-suffragist letters in the New York *Times* have something of the same patriotic fervor.

"In my opinion there is too much voting being done now! I don't believe ten thousand fools are any wiser than one fool."

"If she feels that her highest duty and pleasure is to enter public life, as well as business life, and take a man's place in the world, she is certainly right in demanding the vote; but God help the woman whose ambitions are as low as this."

"When jostled without favor in the arena of civic duties, will woman be able to retain the delicacy and refinement that have made the words wife and mother symbols of the best in life?"

"And as to the effect on women themselves—how can they for a moment imagine that to enter actively into the strife and bickering and rancor of a political campaign would be anything but humiliating and degrading?"

"To give New York State suffrage for women would mean in New York City a tremendous added Tammany force, and would more than double that great uneducated rabble of humanity which would be truly appalling."

"It seems that if such recruits to the cause as these could be brought to a realizing sense of the pains and penalties the possession of the ballot would bring upon women they would withdraw from association with their more determined sisters."

BUDGETS OF THE TRIANGLE FIRE VICTIMS

(Continued from June number.)

BY ELIZABETH DUTCHER.
Agent of the Joint Relief Committee.

THE New York *Sun* recently ended an editorial on women's suffrage with the following: "It (suffrage) will be granted when it is granted, as a concession to the sound and fury of a minority of women; it will be an expression of masculine contempt veiled in the form of excessive courtesy and consideration. Baby wants it; that's all."

If the author of this editorial had seen the statistics given in last month's VOTER on the responsibilities of some New York women who happened to be working for the Triangle Waist Company at the time of the great fire in that factory in March, 1911, he would have found food for thought. And in the light of the personal histories of these girls, such statements as the above seem almost incredibly ignorant.

Let me briefly recapitulate the outline of the general statement given in the June number before going on to talk of the girl's problems in a more concrete way. Of sixty-two girls and women whose cases were handled by the Joint Relief Committee, fifteen girls gave practically all their salary *toward* the support, and nineteen were the *whole* or *main* support of families living in America. In twenty-one instances, sums ranging from $5 to $20 per month had been sent regularly to families living abroad, and in twenty-one instances also the girls were either alone in New York or two sisters were alone and lived and worked together.*

The careful investigation, by trained social workers, that brought out these main facts, made it possible also to form a clear picture of the personal histories and the ideals of the girls who were shouldering such heavy burdens. They were Jewish or Italian by race, strong and capable, the kind of workers who have made New York one of the great garment making centers of the world. They lived mostly on the East side and on the lower West side, though some lived in Harlem and in the tenement districts of Brooklyn. They were working in a seasonal industry where there was no work for four months, ** light work for about three months, and very heavy work with a great deal of overtime*** during the remaining five months. The fire occurred late on Saturday afternoon in March, at the close of the busy season, when overtime was still being worked, and the pay-envelopes for that week ranged from $4.50 to $14, with an exceptional few still higher.

During the strike of 1909-10 the most frequent complaints were of excessive overtime (of which the greatest grievance was that it precluded nightschool), excessive speeding up, heavy fines, a sub-contracting system which amounted to sweating within the factory, and low wages. It was the revolt of one of the sub-contractors that started the strike. Once it was under way, the girls began to realize their disabilities to the full. They received no protection from their natural protectors, those enforcing the laws of the city.

Special officers were placed at the doors of the factory to insult them as they picketed, and no policeman interfered; the picketing itself was declared illegal, and girls of fifteen were sent to the workhouse for picketing and shut up in the same cells with thieves and prostitutes. Magistrate Cornell's contemptuous pronouncement, "You have no right to picket, you have no right to be on Washington Place, if you go there you will get what is coming to you and I won't interfere," rang out as an expression of the law's typical attitude. It was not until a large number of the so-called "influential women," in other words, women who had assets of wealth and education, and therefore were least in need of such influence, came and picketed morning and night with the girls that there was any change in the law's attitude to these defenceless women.

That the strike involved great hardship every one who was with the girls recognized; though the girls were brave and uncomplaining, one heard occasionally of a picket who had had nothing to eat all day, or of another who found all her little possessions on the stairway—dispossessed on her return from the long tramp. But the true significance of a five-months' strike comes with new force to the readers of these Fire Disaster reports. Take Sarah R.* for instance. She was seventeen years old, and lived with her widowed stepmother and two little brothers in a five-story double tenement. Her stepmother had rent free in exchange for janitress work, work which she was too feeble to do herself. So night times, after coming home, and in the early morning, Sarah did all the cleaning of

* The other cases involved girls who lived with relatives and supported themselves only.

** See Beatrice Webb; *The Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission*, part 2, page 204 et seq. as to the similar state of things in England. "Practically the whole of the women in distress from unemployment belong to the under-employed, their case being usually aggravated by seasonal . . . fluctuations of trade . . . The docility of women and their lack of organization have led them (to accept low wages) . . . Only a small minority of the women in distress from lack of work are unencumbered, independent wage-earners . . . . having no one but themselves to support."

*** Overtime is legal three nights in the week, but the charge has been made that four nights were commonly worked in this shop, and even Sundays and holidays in times of stress.

* The cases given are from both the Red Cross and Union reports. In no instance is the real name given.

the great building. What is more, she made all the clothes for the family, even the little brothers' suits. No wonder her best friend said of her, sorrowfully: "Sarah was a fine girl, but no one ever knew her; she was too busy." *Do you know any man whose family are dependent on him to the same extent?*

Annie S., nineteen years old, was the chief support of a family of five. Her father, though only fifty-five, looked very old, and earned a very little by teaching Hebrew; her mother did not work; her oldest brother was about to be married and only paid board, the other brother was in High School. How is this for an instance of "masculine contempt veiled in the form of excessive courtesy and consideration?" And Annie was only one of dozens of just such cases in the records—like Sabina A., who was the oldest of six children, and had an epileptic father, and Concetta M., twenty-one years old, whose two brothers had been out of work for six months, and who supported everybody from her nine dollars. Lucia D. had three clean little children and a handsome, idle husband who complained of a mysterious arm ailment that prevented his working. Every morning Lucia left the babies at a day nursery and went forth to earn the family living, and evenings and Sundays she did the cleaning, sewing and washing for the family. Little Dora T. went to the factory the morning of the fire without any breakfast. She had only seven dollars a week, her father, a tailor, was chronically out of work, and there were four young children. Breakfast was a luxury.

Esther L., sixteen years old, and as pretty as a rose, absolutely alone in New York and in debt, had come to this country to earn money for a family of nine in Russia. She was on the fatal ninth floor. Finding that the last elevator had gone down, and the door to the stairway was locked, she came down nine stories on the steel elevator cable, sustaining injuries that kept her under hospital treatment for nine months. When asked to tell how she thought of such a way of escape, she said, naively: "I did not care to die just then, so hab' ich geflugen" (so I flew down). At the present writing, she is at work in another shirt-waist factory, earning money for her family.

The twenty-one girls who were sending money abroad all had interesting stories. Here is a typical one: Rose M. was killed. The only other member of her family in New York was a brother nineteen years old, who could barely support himself. Her father, in Russia, had with him five other children, two of whom were hunchbacks. His employment in a forest brought only twelve roubles a month and the greater part of the family budget in the last three years had been covered by the 420 roubles which the daughter had sent in that time.

And so one could go on to tell of Violet M., who was supporting a large family and yet insisting that the oldest brother should go on and finish his high school course; of Mary D., who had just brought a scattered and quarreling family together and paid a month's rent on the new home the night before the fire; of a half dozen cases like Minnie R., so careful of appearances, "never forgetting to wear her puffs," as her landlady, divided between pride and grief, told the visitor, and who had brought her delicate little sister to this country and faced bravely the problem of an uncertain seven dollars a week for the two orphan girls alone in New York. This, then, is the stuff out of which the great strikes of the last few years have been made—the shirtwaist strike, the cloakmakers' strike, the laundry workers' strike, the neckwear makers'—the public has grown weary of strikes, and yet the situation must be desperate indeed that forces women with such heavy responsibilities to face not just their own suffering, but the suffering of those dearest to them through a long period.

There are signs here and there of a real interest and sympathy on the part of the public, which, if it grows, will, to a great extent, do away with the necessity of such strikes. The appointment in New York State of the Commission on Women Workers, the passing of the Fifty-four Hour Bill, the establishment of the little Label Shop in West 28th Street, which heralds the day when the consumer will take her share of social responsibility, the agitation in behalf of a Minimum Wage Commission—all these are signs of better times. And the publication of these tragic stories should have a stimulating effect on all progressive women. Stories of suffering and pain they are, of high hopes and broken fulfillment. But let us not see only the pity and the sadness of all the brave endurance and self-sacrifice. The disaster is over; *nothing can bring back the hour of splendor in the grass, of glory in the flower.* Let us rather pledge ourselves to a new interest in women's cause, to greater activity in helping her industrially through organization, and politically through the ballot. "We demand an opportunity to help make the laws under which we work and die" read the Ladies' Waistmakers' banner in the parade. Let us bring it about that our State, and her sister States, may no longer contemptuously slight the claims of some of their best and most useful citizens.

OVERHEARD FROM AN ANTI.

"I don't see any good in men voting much less women. If they had the vote they would simply vote just as their husbands do and only double the ignorant vote and that's quite bad enough as it is."

AN ANTI-SUFFRAGE HEARING

THROUGH the courtesy of Miss Mary Shaw we are able to give the following quotations from her delightful play, *Our Friends—The Anti-Suffragists.* In this scene they are rehearsing the speeches they intend to make before the Legislative Committee.

Mrs. Allright.

May I suggest, dear, that you leave out the question—"What good will it do me to vote?" That gives a loophole for those suffragists to get in their statistics. We find it far safer to keep mossgrown platitudes about husband, home and children. Then they can't corner us.

Miss Noodle.

Mrs. Sweet, aren't you going to tell your lovely story?

Mrs. Sweet.

(*Jumping up.*) Heavens! I forgot my lovely story.

Mrs. Allright.

Do tell it, Mrs. Sweet, I beg of you.

Mrs. Sweet.

Gentlemen, I knew a suffragist once. Like all of them she neglected her husband and home. Sometimes she never saw her baby girl for weeks together. An ignorant nursemaid took entire care of it. She spent all her time at suffrage clubs. One day as this woman was crossing a park, she saw a baby in a baby-carriage which was tipped up against a tree so a jar would have thrown it over. The frightened little cherub was crying piteously. She righted the carriage and tried to soothe the poor little darling. A nurse girl who had been talking to a policeman, came running towards her. She was just about to demand the address of the mother to report what she had seen. Oh, gentlemen, it was her own nursemaid. And that miserable, neglected angel was her own child. (*Antis are all weeping in handkerchiefs.*) She had seen it so seldom, that she did not recognize it. Think of it, gentlemen, a mother not to know her own baby! That is what will happen in every home if these women get the ballot.

Mrs. Allright.

That is a terrible story, Mrs. Sweet, and only too true. Gentlemen, our youngest Anti who will plead with you for the "Girl of the Future." Miss Noodle, gentlemen.

Miss Noodle.

(*Rising, beginning shyly, gradually getting very modern and familiar.*) Gentlemen, I am a girl—so I want to say a word for the "Girl of the Future." Her fate is in your hands. Men will not marry girls who claim to be their equals and pretend to think and try to earn real money. So there will be no husbands nor homes for the poor girl of the future—if these women get the suffrage. Most of them have had the two great moments of life, so there's nothing more coming to them. It's just pure spite doing us poor girls of the future out of our two great moments—that's what it is. My brother says there isn't a woman a man would look at twice who wants to vote. He says these suffragists are all disappointed old maids or "gone to seed" married women. You are "wise to them," my brother says. Please, gentlemen, don't take any stock in their saying—they are going to do fine things for the future race. Why, there won't be any future race, if they keep on. What's the use of girls anyway, except for men to make love to? Oh, please, gentlemen, fix it so the "Girl of the Future" will have a show. (*Sits amidst great applause.*)

Mrs. Allright.

Miss Noodle's speech is like an agonizing cry from the cradle of the human race. Ladies, before I forget it—I must guard you against one point. It is a painful subject. It has been one of our most telling platitudes. Some of you might use it for the hundred thousandth time if you are not warned that it is not true. Ladies, please do not say anything about the vast hordes of disreputable, immoral women who will rush to the polls and contaminate the pure wives and mothers while they are voting.

Miss Moore.

But I understood you to say, Mrs. Allright, that the pure wives and mothers will never vote.

Mrs. Allright.

Please, Miss Moore, this is very important. Ladies, it seems that in those dreadful places where women vote now—— (*Antis cover their faces with their hands and groan*) the disreputable women are so bitterly opposed to woman suffrage as the womanly women are. (*Antis show amazement.*)

Mrs. Grouch.

(*Rising, folding arms, whole manner through her speech as if she never doubted that these women were aware they are all playing a game with men.*) Ladies, I know men through and through. I've had eight brothers, two husbands and four sons. Fourteen men in the family have given me all the exercise I need in fooling and palavering men. You women, who have only one or two men to practice on, should seize every opportunity like this Hearing, to keep your hand in, so you can become experts at the game. Those suffragists are all on to your tricks—but what do you care? If those deluded women think they are going to get anything that men want to keep themselves, why, let them go ahead and try to get it. You and I know that anything a woman gets out of a man, beyond a bare living, she'll have

to wheedle and coax and flatter out of him. The moment I put my eye on a woman I can tell just how much she knows of the game. You Antis are all expert bluffers. That's why I am an Anti. My principal reason for opposing woman suffrage is this: I never found any work a man didn't want a woman to help him do—especially the uninteresting, drudgery part of it—never one single thing except voting. And I say, if there's one thing on earth a man wants to do all alone—for Heaven's sake, let him do it. (*General laughter.*)

Mrs. Allright.

And now, gentlemen, I have the honor to present to you Mrs. Duncan Pure-Drivel, the poetess of our Cause.

Mrs. Pure-Drivel.

(*Rising, amidst great applause, takes attitude of deference to men, rolls languishing eyes at them.*) Gentlemen, I am a woman. (*Pause.*) Have always been a woman. (*Pause.*) And I pray God, may always remain a woman. So I can tell you how a woman feels. (*Applause.*) A woman cannot reason. So she never can understand nor help to make laws. But—she has something far higher than reason—*a Divine Intuition.* And with this, she is supremely content. Why? Because man has told her that after he has gone through laborious processes of reason and can find no answer—she has only to blurt something haphazard, and lo, her *Divine Intuition* is always right. Always, except in making laws for him to obey. There her *Divine Intuition* stops working. And woman is so spiritual! A baby girl has within her at the moment of birth the complete knowledge of good and evil. So any sin a woman commits is done deliberately, defiantly, against the law of her being. That is why there is no excuse for erring woman. Man has to learn slowly and painfully, by reason, what sin is. That is why it is just that men should escape punishment, while they are learning the lesson of life. Why the same moral laws cannot be made for men and for women. Why a man must be forgiven again, and again and again—even to the end. (*Arranging with extended finger the imaginary suffragists.*) Those women—for they seem to be women, though it is hard to believe it—declare that our stupidity and morals were forced on us by men, for their own comfort and convenience. I deny it—in the name of womanhood. Our morals and stupidity were given us by God. (*Finger pointing up—arm extended full length—eyes raised reverently. Change to languishing gaze at men on next sentence.*) They are our mysterious lure, which no man will ever fathom and does not wish to escape. If man comprehended us, would he place woman on a pedestal and fall down and worship her? No. Yet these suffragists want to jump off their pedestals and stand on equal ground with him. Oh, blind, blind and foolish creatures! Know that before Times was, it was decreed by Heaven that man should talk of woman as his superior—treat her as his inferior. If woman could reason, would she accept this mysterious, dual rôle of superior and inferior being? Certainly not. That is why reason was denied her by God. So, no more talk of ballots or of laws. We are satisfied with our empire over the hearts of men. We are content to be queens by divine right of sex. (*Long applause.*)

Mrs. Allright.

Mrs. Pure-Drivel, I almost wish I might put you down to speak last—your effort is so poetical, so original, so irresistably convincing. But Mrs. Grundy always has the last word—and she is the bulwark of our cause—so, gentlemen, our best beloved leader and supporter, Mrs. Grundy.

Mrs. Grundy.

(*Rising—applause.*) Gentlemen, I have been your good old friend from time immemorial. The Mrs. Grundys have worked faithfully through all the ages, to keep women in their sphere. You men couldn't have done it without Mrs. Grundy's help. Don't rise, gentlemen, you overwhelm me with your homage. Keeping women in their proper sphere has never been an easy task—but during the last ten years, I have several times been on the point of giving it up as a bad job. Of course, I have kept up a splendid bluff, pretending nothing unusual was happening; but deep within me I know this abominal heresy of woman suffrage is going to be the death of me. That last news from California, 87,000 more women than men registered to vote, has put a crimp in me that never will come out. Now, gentlemen, I have heard all your reasons why women are cutting these capers; but none of you have hit on the right one. It isn't education nor industrial conditions, nor any of the things you lay it to. The trouble began way back in the fourth century, when some misguided Fathers of the Church met in a solemn conclave and decided by a bare majority vote—just one vote, gentlemen, think of it—that women had a soul. That she was responsible to God, not man, for the deeds done in the flesh. How did such an idea ever come into their heads, you ask? Why, they wanted the women to support the church and had to offer them a soul to get them interested. Of course, they did not give woman a soul of her own. They gave her only just as much of a soul as it was safe and convenient to let her have. The kind of one they could take back if it did not work right. They knew the innate stupidity of woman. They were perfectly sure she would go on piling up the power and glory and profit of me in the church and never once think of sharing in it. And so she did for fifteen centuries. When suddenly twenty-

five years ago a woman arose alone and unaided —and without asking permission of Pope or Archbishop—or offering to share any power or glory with men, put herself at the head of a new religion, Proclaimed a Father-Mother God. Mary Baker Eddy. The very name ought to make you men shake in your shoes. For what has happened in the church will happen in the State—if you give women the ballot. If you make women aldermen, mayors, judges and governors, where will it end? There are a million more women than men. They'll outvote you finally. Set up a new code of morals. Oh, I know women are not creative. But, gentlemen, they are splendidly imitative. They will give you such an imitation of yourselves as will paralyze you. Punish men for sin and let women escape. Give you their names at marriage so you lose all your identity. Pay you for work, with love and flattery, but keep the hard cash. In short, gentlemen, turn the tables on you. There is only one remedy. You must use it and use it quickly. Take away women's souls. Giving women souls was the cause of all the trouble. If you can't do that, gentlemen, it's utterly hopeless.

THE PERILS OF POLITICS

YET what the suffragists propose is to impose upon these mothers the burden of the vote, to subject them to the entreaties of political committees, to be called out to meetings during the campaign and to leave everything else in order to cast a vote on Election Day. You good ladies who advocate this—consider and refrain; you know not what you do; you know not what is meant by a political campaign. If you had taken part in them as I have, you would realize that the phrase 'campaign' is justly applied. It is warfare. It is a heated warfare. It is an exciting warfare; and when men get into the heat of it they often forget every consideration except success. Do you seriously mean to say that you want the mothers of the race, the nursing mothers, the mothers who are toiling to keep up the family and to bring up their children, subjected to this political strife and compelled to take part in it?"

"If a political canvasser were to break into a household and seek to enlist the activity of the mother, she would despise him, and the husband would turn him out of doors and rightly too, for it would be a brutal thing. And yet, good ladies, this is exactly what you are trying to do by legislation."

"Again let us consider the case of woman teachers. There are about 400,000 of these in the United States. There are seventeen million children enrolled in the public schools. To teach them well requires the whole energy and vitality of the teacher, and is of vital importance to the future of America. Can any one seriously maintain that it would be well to enlist these noble women in the excitement of political campaigns? This would be folly and mischievous madness."

"In primitive conditions of society we find a difference. The delightful Life of Sir Richard Burton that his brave wife has given us, describes the bodyguard of the king of Dahomey, which is

composed of stalwart women, quite as ready to fight as any of the men. Thank God, we have developed on different lines! The relation between the man and the woman ought to be, and in the main is, one of friendship, affection and consideration. It certainly would not promote the peace of families to draw the husbands and wives, the brothers and sisters into political controversy. The family is the most important social unit. Political strife is a wedge that would split it asunder."

"The whole suffrage movement is based upon wrong lines. It ignores the fundamental facts of human nature. No one honors or respects a wise and good woman more than I do. I dare say no one owes more to the counsel of a wise and good woman than I do, and it is for that very reason that the whole plan of enlisting them in political campaigns, of organizing them into political parties, of drawing them into the fierce conflicts of the polls is odious."

"Whatever may have been done in a few of the Western States where the men are in the majority, where social conditions are essentially different from ours and where the people are in the mood for trying experiments in politics, it is clear to me that the men of the States where we have great cities, where the difficulties and problems incident to the government of those cities are most pressing, will never give up their wives and daughters to be exploited by political canvassers."

"The Right and Wrong of Woman Suffrage." An address by Everett P. Wheeler, delivered under the auspices of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

CHINATOWN

An Elysium of Peace and Safety

IN the June number of the VOTER you saw the resolutions adopted by the Party concerning the conditions in Chinatown and the brutal attack upon Mrs. Livingstone by a Chinatown cadet from whom she had rescued a young girl. *These Chinatown Cadets,* as you have seen by the papers recently, *are the gangsters* whose exploits are much written up these last days. Not only from suffragists, but from many other citizens many letters of protest have gone to Commissioner Waldo and Mayor Gaynor. Out of all the people who wrote, certain police officials selected Mrs. Laidlaw for a terrible example. They published in the newspapers that they proposed to sue her for libel. This is a *time-honored method of endeavoring to bully and terrorize the private citizen who dares to penetrate the sacred realms of municipal iniquity.* Moreover, every one who understands municipal corruption, knows that this bullying does not always emanate from the misused and often hampered police force, but from vicious politicians. We see with interest in the New York *Sun* the statement that a certain police official says, "I am inclined to believe that Mrs. Laidlaw will be convinced that her criticism of Chinatown was somewhat rash, *but I doubt whether there will be a suit. An apology from Mrs. Laidlaw, however, would make it all right!!*" A high police official said in response to Mrs. Laidlaw's complaints about Chinatown conditions, "Why, Chinatown has been all cleared up, its the safest place in New York City!"

To this Mrs. Laidlaw replied, "Yes, the safest place for a lured or stolen young girl to be hidden."

In view of the *bullying threat of suit* for daring to suggest that this district is not an elysium of peace and virtue; in view of the pompous suggestions that critics shall apologize to city officials for courteously calling attention to crying evils, note the following extracts from the New York papers that appeared for days following these dignified utterances:

*** Italics Supplied**
Compiled from The Public Prints

"CHINATOWN RESIDENT DESCRIBES GIRL WHO CAUSED FIGHT.

"AUDACITY of crime has now reached a point higher than any previously known in the history of New York City.

Nothing could exceed the degree of contempt, the utter scorn, for the courage of the gang men, that is evident in the speech of the policemen who know the gangs best.

Then why do they continue to rob, maim and murder with open contempt for the law?

The answer seems to lie in the perfection of the system which enables the gangster to commit his crimes and defy the courts to prove his guilt.

The greatest city in the United States is in a worse condition of unrebuked lawlessness than was ever the most notorious frontier camp or savage jungle.

From the frightful wrecks who frequent *the three tiny streets of Chinatown—Pell, Mott and Doyers*—and the neighboring streets of Chatham Square, Second Avenue and Third, Hester and Worth, from the nondescript derelicts of every nationality and every criminal profession, pickpockets, gun men, sandbaggers, cadets (the men who live on the earnings of fallen women), highwaymen and burglars, blackmailers and thieves of every description, the present rival gangs were conscripted.

Five men stand out above the rank and file of the *gangsters of Chinatown.* One is Jimmy Kelly, who leads one gang around. His headquarters and those of his followers are at his saloon, the Café Mandarin, an evil-looking place which stands on Doyers Street at the point where it curves between the overhanging tenements and Chinese restaurants to run into Chatham Square.

So it occurs that the fued between the Sirocco and the Jimmy Kelly gangs of Chinatown has been constant and growing more and more bitter.

Then there is Big Jack Poggi who runs a saloon and Chu Chu parlor at 12 Chatham Square, with a back room in which are a piano and *tables for women as well as men;* its rear entrance closed by heavy wooden doors opens on Doyers Street, and it was at this back door that the pistol bombardment took place in the first hour of Monday morning. You can see on the glass over the rear entrance of the Chinese Tuxedo across the street the small hole made by one of the flying bullets.

Poggi was given the proud credit of firing the first fatal shots. He escaped from Coney Island, but later gave himself up to the police and was sent up to Elmira for fourteen months. He was released a few months ago and for a while *walked the streets of Chinatown with vastly increased glory.*

The women of the gangs are not pampered. An unlovely lot, they perform an important part in the domestic affairs of their "protectors." *A woman has a cash value to a gangster.* There is very little sentiment in the struggles for their possession that periodically come to notice."—*The New York Times,* June 7.

"AN alderman, whose name cannot be divulged at present, is now actively negotiating, through an underground channel, for an easy sentence for Poggi, who almost beyond doubt is in this city, and the return of the $4,000 which was put up in cash as his bond by the Empire State Surety Company.

It was said at Police Headquarters that no bolder proposition for the protection of a criminal had been brought to the attention of the department in some time. Usually this work is done very unostentatiously.

Furthermore, political affiliation with the underworld is another great obstacle confronting the honest members of the police force. The case of Louis Poggi, notorious crook, man killer and gun toter, who jumped his bail on April 3, when he was to be tried as a second offender on the charge of carrying a concealed weapon, is an illuminating example."—*The New York World.* June 7.

"A SLIMY chapter of New York life has been brought to public attention by the gang fued that broke out during the early hours of last Monday morning in the back room of a Chinatown saloon, and that has since been brazenly continued with revolvers and dynamite bombs in various parts of the city.

The quiet, law-abiding, stay-at-home citizen may think that the existence of these gangs does not concern him.

But here is a fact that should concern even the most quiet, law-abiding, stay-at-home citizen: *These vicious gangs are important—sometimes decisive—cogs in our electoral machine.* In exchange for their strong-arm work at primaries and on Election Day, there are *politicians who will see that these "gorillas" have practical immunity in their life of graft and violence* during *all the other days of the year.*

Louis Poggi, known in gangland as "Louis the Lump," was sent to Elmira for "at least a year" for killing "Kid Twist" and "Cyclone Lewis" at Coney Island in May, 1908. Recently, when he was arrested in this city for carrying a *revolver, he was bailed out by a downtown Tammany alderman, and promptly jumped the* $4,000 *cash bail.*

This spectacle of a thug hurdling a four thousand-dollar bankroll to liberty gives a true idea of the lush days in which the New York gangster now lives.

Writers who wish to throw the glamor of romance over the doings of these thugs tell us that some of their feuds begin over women. In the present imbroglio one Wanda Murphy, a Chinatown blonde, has been dragged from her tenement obscurity to supply the romantic hue.

But no gangster ever fought over a woman as a normal man fights over a woman. *To a gangster a woman is simply a commercial proposition that can bring him in so much revenue nightly.* It may be remembered that the "cadets" that made the old "red light district" what it was

were practically all members of East side gangs. —*The New York Times,* June 7.

IT was charged at Police Headquarters that the leniency of the local judiciary had been responsible for the boldness of the gangs, which were reported to have the backing of powerful Tammany politicians.

Get Away With Murder.

"What's the use of arresting these fellows, anyway?" asked a high police official. "These fellows actually commit murder and get away with it."

The "Chick" was released in $1,000 bail, furnished by Peter Hughes, *one of the right hand men of ex-Sheriff Tom Foley, the Tammany leader.*

Louis Spiegel, counsel for Jack Zelig and one of the Foley henchmen, was closeted with Police Commissioner Waldo and Deputy Dougherty for some time yesterday evening. Neither official would discuss the visit.—*The New York Tribune,* June 7.

IT is noticeable that in all the accounts of the gangsters' activities which for days have received columns in the New York papers, little has been said of the *white-slavery which lies back of it all,* except the first description of the poor woman found at the time of the shooting lying injured, her chest "black from kicks."

Jane Addams, addressing an audience of men in the Men and Religion Forward Momevent, made this statement, which was represented in the New York *Times, The Survey* and other publications:

"Police connivance at prostitution inevitably creates a necessity for both graft and blackmail; the graft is easy because the owner of an illicit business expects to pay for it, and every politician to the tip-top of the administration receives his share of this illicit fund; in connection with this a municipal blackmail is also established which just escapes legal recognition. Prostitution, protected by a thick hedge of secrecy, imperceptibly renewing itself through changing administrations, is the one fixed point of maladministration, *the unbreakable bank to which every corrupt politician may repair when in need of funds.* The corruption spreads until the brothel, the saloon, and the gambling hall are *the trio literally at the base of the real administration of our cities.*"

A DEEP SEA ANALOGY

WAY down in the ocean is a low but perfect form of life which has existed for hundreds of thousands of years, as the discovery of skeletons in certain rock strata teaches us. This sea animal or fish, little more developed than the sponge, has been reproducing itself with infinite and patient monotony during an inconceivably long period of time.

For hundreds of thousands of years there has been no change in its form. It is finished. Billions of fac-similes have been produced, and the unending processes goes on. From a moral point of view one may wonder why this patient, never-varying process continues, what its end, its aim is. What is its destiny?

Yet it appeals to the imagination. The process is so perfect and so sure. It is unfailing, unhesitating. There is no disturbance, no chaotic doubt. There are no insurgents in that deep-sea world. Its standpatism is literally absolute. It compels admiration, as do all finished things. There is no social unrest there.

A few days ago a beautiful article appeared in one of New York's newspapers on woman suffrage. It was almost as perfect as that form of deep-sea life. The ideas, feelings, and sentiments expressed had a mechanical perfection derived from long habit and infinite reproduction. In it was no doubt, no disturbance. It was wonderfully clear of all insurgent tendencies. It showed a wonderful faith in all that is antediluvian. In comparison, the Middle Age seems modern. It put the vague, developing aspirations of woman where they belong. It pointed solemnly to the long line of eternal male sentimentalities, to the infinitely reproductive processes of the emotions, which never change.

It was a sublime, an awesome article. It made man seem almost as perfect as the deep-sea form referred to.—Hutchins Hapgood, in *The Globe.*

SOME FIGURES DON'T LIE!

The Anti-Suffrage Society in New York publishes a little slip listing twenty-seven pamphlets, and they may all be had for fifty cents.

The National Suffrage Association issues an eighteen-page catalogue in which 211 items are listed, and it takes $41.91 to buy them all.

The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage prints a list of 198 active members.

The New York State Suffrage Association has 7,000 paid members, and 75,000 enrolled members.

The Woman Suffrage Party numbers between 50,000 and 60,000 members in Greater New York.

THE ANTIS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

Quotations from the suffrage debate under the auspices of the National League for the Civic Education of Women, at the Waldorf-Astoria, April 30, 1912.

Mrs. Jones in her address dwelt upon the need of force to protect the ballot.

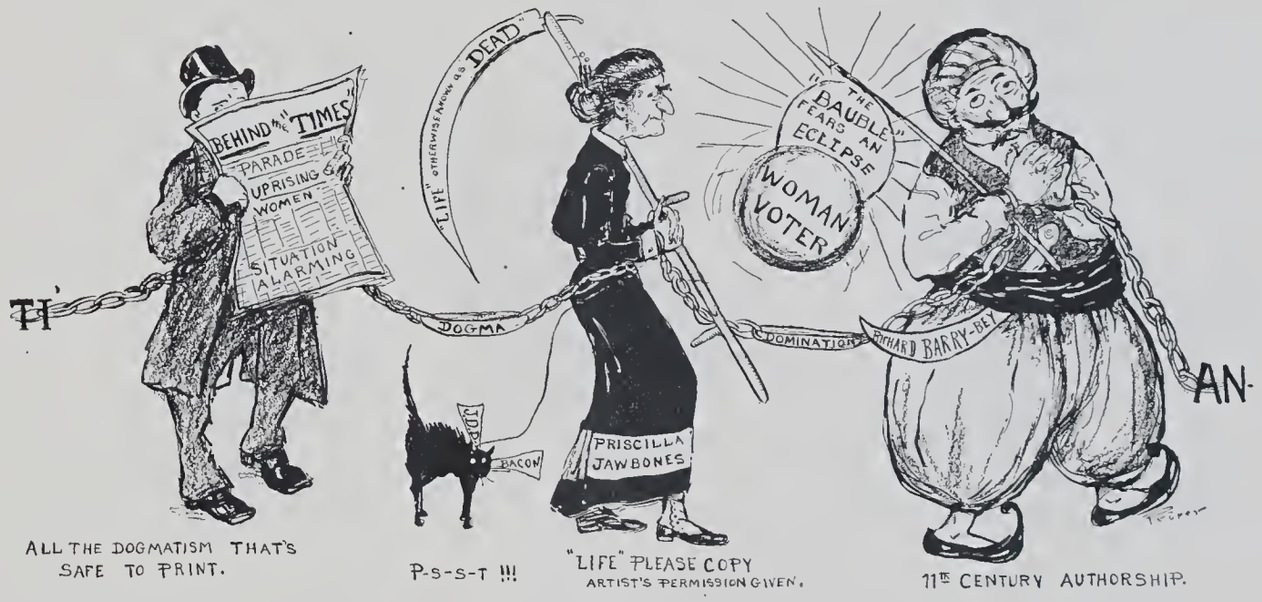
"The men know," she said, "that they must carry the rifle and that the hatpin will not answer. We do not wish women to have less to do, but we do not wish them to do what they do in men's boots.

"We anti-suffragists are up and doing," she continued, "but we don't care about representing so many people—the Christian Association and all sorts of goody-goody people. We are more particular. We don't accept Socialists or Anarchists; we are not so wild about the W. C. T. U., *and when we have a parade we'll march down the street while the suffragists are marching up and they will all see us.*

"They say women are tricksters—that is what women have always been noted for, and they are losing a little bit of their character when they get away from it. The women had better be a little more tricksters and have a little less throwing of bricks."—The New York *Times,* May 1, 1912.

"There is absolutely no responsibility back of the woman's vote, but there is plenty of corruption. If you don't believe it just come to my office and I'll show you the proofs. You may doubt reports perhaps and mere printed accounts of what goes on in some of these suffrage States, but when you see a photograph of a woman accepting a dollar and a pound of candy for a vote you know she's done it."—Mrs. Jones.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE PARADE



"That delectable and delightful person, the spinster! Bachelors are useful, but what of the woman who will not share her life because she is 'not silly about one man.' "

"The *mentality* militant suffragette of America, who by the force of her personality takes away the right of another woman to think for herself; who talks to working-women and insults them by supposing that though they can work, they cannot take care of themselves."—Miss Lewis.

"Mrs. John Jerome Rooney made an eloquent plea for 'the four walls' where woman reigns supreme.

'Why should we wish to plunge our hands in the mire?' she implored in quivering tones. And as she spoke she stretched forth appealingly two slender arms and hands encased in perfectly new white kid gloves, thirty button length."—The *Sun*, May 1, 1912.

"What is the home if not the foundation of our government? As my opponent has said, we have supreme dominion within the home. And where does public opinion come from but from the home? We make it come, and if we do, why need we cast the vote?" The speaker then cited the part played by the high cost of living in determining recent elections. "The issue arose in the kitchen. Men felt it, and they swept the country."

"Let us take our children and our friends and go into the fields and look up to the sky and ask God to give us strength to carry on the work for women as our mothers and other good women have done before."

VARYING VIEWS.

(Extracts from letters in the New York *Times*.)

CHARACTER OF THE ELECTORATE.

"Indeed, there is positive danger that in the confusion attendant upon the admission of so large and heterogeneous a body into the electorate the forces of corruption would intrench themselves more securely, and seriously retard the progress that is already being made toward the welfare of the whole body politic."

ANTI-SUFFRAGE PARADE

HORRIBLE TO CONTEMPLATE!

"One of the first results of the extension of the ballot might be the placing of women on an equal footing with men under the law. This is what the suffragists say they are fighting for. Do all the avowed suffragists clearly understand the situation?"—*Times* (editorial).

THE NATURAL CONSEQUENCE OF TEACHING GIRLS TO READ.

"A great deal of this clamor arises from higher education, which has made women dissatisfied with home life and makes them eager to get into the professions, as of law, medicine, theology, and also public office."

IMPROVED LEGISLATION.

"The plea of the suffragettes runs through a whole scale of special demands: Higher pay for women teachers in the public schools, shorter hours for shop girls and factory girls, exemption from fines for breakage and for lateness, overtime pay, piece work or non-piece work, etc., all of them important matters, but best settled by economic adjustment and administration, and which, even if settled by vote, do not need a revolution in the system of government, as is shown in the fifty-four hour bill lately passed in Albany."

OUR INARTICULATE SISTERS.

"It is impossible to realize without an effort the great difficulty which all but a comparatively few women opposed to woman suffrage find in expressing themselves in any public way."

A WILD CLAMOR OF DENUNCIATION.

"Disaster and deep tragedy bring home the heartlessness, the triviality, and the egotism of this lamentable product of twentieth century selfishness—the rampant suffragist, who wastes the riches of the earth, priceless energy, and all the divine, drifting hours in self-exaltation, and in a wild clamor of denunciation, which means (if it means anything) a complete repudiation of the ties which bind and inspire us."

ANTI-SUFFRAGE PARADE

"The improved legislation on behalf of woman, acquired within the last few decades, is soberly cited as proof of the needlessness of woman suffrage, in blissful unconsciousness of the palpable fact that this legislation has come as the direct fruit of the suffrage agitation and of the changed attitude of mind which has already resulted from it. The admission of woman to the suffrage is simply the logical finale and the means of securing permanence for the progressive changes which have already accomplished so much in changing her status from the slavery of feudalism and the common law to the self-respecting citizenship of a free democracy."

THE MONOTONY OF DEMOCRACY.

"The imposition of similar duties upon men and women tends to obliterate the distinctive differences of the two sexes, and thus to dull the delights of social life. If any man wishes to understand how monotonous life can become, let him contemplate an existence only among companions of his own sex, and every woman can indulge in a similar unhappy imagination."

CONCERNING THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE BIBLE.

IN the imperishable amber of the Anti-Suffrage Bible—those two *Outlook* articles by the ancient-of-days-minded Dr. Abbott—lie imbedded argumentative fly after fly whose sting has ceased from stinging, and whose species will soon be extinct. Then Dr. Abbott's "Woman and the Suffrage" will become really valuable, as a practically complete exhibit of the cause that never was. All the old, hoary-winged gadflies of Anti argumentation are here, and all the bugaboos: free divorce, free love, the state-rearing of children torn from the arms of shrieking Anti mothers, the abolition of all property, the annihilation of "chivalry," the volcanic disruption of homes by political debate between maddened Republican male and infuriated. Democratic "unsexed" female—above all, the eternal seal of silence upon woman's "perfect music" set unto man's "noble words"!

For Dr. Abbott, looking about him, not afar, but near, sees a little change coming over this world of ours, and filled with unfaith of Life, calls aloud on the universe to cease its inevitable, resistless advance. What this change is finally to come to be, no one, least of all those with minds shut against the signs of the times, can forecast. But Dr. Abbott should take courage from the past through which he lived and to which he "points with pride." That, too, was change; this is transition, and to-morrow will be as restless as to-day. What does not move upon the surface is constantly stirring at the deeps.

When Dr. Abbott says, at the beginning of his first address: "I am an advocate of women's rights; her right to an open door to every vocation, her right to a fair opportunity for the highest and broadest education, her right to do whatever she can do and be whatever she can become; her right to determine her appropriate sphere, not to have it determined for her by a lord and master; her right to be left free to follow the bent of her own divinely endowed nature, unchecked by vexatious restrictions, uncoerced by the presence of needless economic necessity, undiverted by the ill-judged appeals or the unfeminine sneers of her mistakenly ambitious sisters."

When Dr. Abbott wrote this he unwittingly visioned more than the strabismatic last line can ever take away, and all the rest of his arguments are as if he gloried in a mill-wheel's power, and then sat down to argue against a part of the spray tossed off.

For in this paragraph he grants the whole feminist movement of to-day, liberty to women to experiment, to do and be whatever they can do and can become. If among their activities suffrage is to be included; it will be included—as a matter of fact, suffrage is but one—to many of the wisest students of the signs of the times one of the least—of the many impending revolutions that make up the world-wide feminist movement.

EDNA KENTON.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE PARADE

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Independence Day

There can be no real Independence Day celebration until there dawns a Fourth of July when all women in the United States share in the democracy. However important historically, the holiday as yet marks no great change from the old monarchial form of government. How could it when a great group of potential citizens have no voice in the affairs of the nation?

As women interested in the common welfare, we rejoice that there is an attempt to make our national holiday safe for the young and inspiring to the old. We will do what we can to help the Safe and Sane Fourth of July celebration. But while we are still un-enfranchised, and classed with undesirable members of the community, we cannot share in that patriotic outburst of emotion and loyalty to country which is the privilege of citizenship.

A Doubtful Moses

When Pharoah's daughter was attracted by the cries of the infant Moses, she took him up and educated him to be a leader of his people. In return, the prophet, having seen a new light, urged his people to despoil the Egyptians and hasten to the Promised Land.

The suffragists have lately been attracted by the voice of Theodore Roosevelt, crying: "Votes for Women," in the political bulrushes. The new-found child of progress is appealing and his lusty wails rouse sympathy in maternal breasts, but the women have already heard the cry of champions more articulate and leaders whose suffrage antecedants are better known.

La Follette was the first and for a long time the only Presidential candidate who openly espoused our cause. It is not likely that the women will forget his courageous stand. They may remember that he believed in woman suffrage *before* it was a political issue. We do not doubt Roosevelt's sincerity. We only wish that we had found him sooner. We wish that he had spoken of the value of woman's vote before he needed it. This year there will be women voters in California, Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah and Washington. As *The Public* points out in a recent issue:

"There are 531 votes in the Electoral College. It takes 266 to elect, and 61 of them may be dominated by women voters. If there is a candidate in the field who is *an out-and-out* supporter of 'Votes for Women,' there isn't much doubt among those who know the temper of the women voters, that it would be possible to turn a practically solid woman vote over to him."

It is an open question whether woman suffragists will adopt the progressive Moses and follow his leadership. His conversion was more than timely—it was opportune.

The Suffrage Platform

In this issue of THE WOMAN VOTER we are permitting the anti-suffragists to speak for themselves. We remind those who mildly protest against giving so much space to a lost cause that the best arguments for woman suffrage are what the Antis say against it. Still, we do not wish theirs to be the only voices, so we rehearse again, in briefer form, the platform of the Woman Suffrage Party.

WE STAND FOR:

Equal suffrage for men and women.

For all humanitarian legislation which includes a minimum wage, shorter hours, steady employment, better housing and more extensive public recreation.

Equal pay for equal work.

The appointment of women judges and magistrates to safeguard the interests of women and children.

WE STAND AGAINST:

Child labor.

White slavery and prostitution.

The exploitation of women in industry.

A uniform divorce law until women share in its making.

A political system which robs the home of adequate representation and makes finance and business the chief interest of politics.

The Beast Stays in the Jungle

We offer to the City of Denver heartiest congratulations on the outcome of the elections held there on May 21st. The issue was cleancut, with the "Citizens' Party" standing for good government against corrupt business and bossism entrenched in both the old parties. The victory is no mere outburst, no passing reaction. It is the culmination of a continuous struggle, begun in Colorado twenty years ago, and waged with renewed vigor since Judge Lindsey entered the fight in 1902. This, the latest battle—the first great victory—was hotly contested. The bosses worked incessantly beforehand, and were out in full force on election day, with all their old methods of fraud, bribery and coercion. Yet not only was Arnold elected mayor; he polled 4,000 more votes than all his opponents combined. Not the uptown wards alone gave the "Citizens" heavy majorities. The downtown wards, even those containing saloon and red-light districts, went for good government. Bosses who for years had held absolute sway, were beaten in their own strongholds—in some cases

by a vote of two to one. The entire "Citizens'" ticket was victorious. As for Judge Lindsey, his election was almost unanimous.

It would be difficult to find another American city with prospects for lasting good government as bright as are Denver's to-day. Nor is there any reason to suppose that Denver, were her women disenfranchised, would be thus fortunate. Women were invaluable in this final campaign. In the discouraging years which preceded, the fort could not have been held without them. Those were the years when self-government seemed lost in Denver; when corruption triumphed everywhere except in that it failed to oust Judge Lindsey, whom the women's votes kept on the Juvenile Bench. All praise to the men and women of Denver who stood together, undaunted and undiscouraged, and fought on, when the odds seemed hopeless. "They have borne the battle; they have earned the honor."

Judge Lindsey on Woman Suffrage

Among the anti-suffrage letters recently published was one by Francis Lynde Stetson, a well-known lawyer, who said that woman suffrage had been a negligible factor in good government. We print herewith Judge Lindsey's reply to the statement:

Denver, May 29, 1912.

Mrs. Martha W. Suffren,
30 East 34th Street,
City.

My Dear Mrs. Suffren:

Your letter came at the close of our municipal campaign for city and county offices, consequently this delayed acknowledgement. Incidentally, let me say that I was re-elected Judge of the Juvenile Court, on an Independent Citizens' Ticket, by nearly thirty thousand majority. My opponent was a machine nominee on the Democratic ticket, with the endorsement of the Republican machine, put up by them to defeat me because of my story of the Beast and the Jungle, and particularly on the fight against corrupt politics in Denver. The entire Independent Citizens' ticket won by ten thousand majority over the bi-partisan machine candidates and the result is due largely to the fact that women vote in Denver. I do not believe such a victory would have been possible had it not been for this fact.

I am tremendously tied up just at this moment with a mass of correspondence and accumulated work, which has necessarily been neglected during the municipal campaign for my re-election and to defeat the bi-partisan machine that we fought here for the past ten years and it is physically impossible to get up a letter just at this time, but I am going to try to do so at the earliest date.

Here in Denver there is no question of doubt that the great victory—the greatest in the history of American politics—over corrupt politics, was due primarily to the women's vote. It was the biggest single factor in the result. I suppose it would be impossible to get some of the anti-suffrage papers to publish the facts about it, however, if they will publish this statement from me, you are more than welcome to it.

Sincerely yours,
Ben B. Lindsey.

Massachusetts and The Minimum Wage

A bill, establishing the Minimum Wage Commission and providing for the determination of Minimum Wages has recently passed the Massachusetts Legislature and waits the Governor's signature. Its purpose is to inquire into the wages paid to women in the various industries with a view to establishing a wage necessary to supply the cost of living and to maintain the worker in health.

This measure is an important step toward the establishment of a living wage for women in industry. It is the result of a careful survey of industrial conditions in Massachusetts, including a study of the budgets of women workers. We hope, in a later issue of The Voter, to publish a summary of the investigation and to give definite information with regard to the final status of the bill.

23—Victory

The suffrage amendment passed its third reading in Ohio, and goes on the main ballot as Number 23. The amendment is as follows:

Article V. Sec. 1.—Every citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of the State one year next preceding the election, and of the county, township or ward in which he or she resides such time as may be provided by law, shall have the qualifications of an elector and be entitled to vote at all elections.

The campaign is progressing with wonderful vigor and success. Visitors are impressed with the strong sentiment for suffrage throughout the State. During the Presidential Primary campaign, open-air speakers trailed the candidates so successfully that a citizen remarked: "The suffragists have captured the town. Suffrage is more talked about than Taft or Teddy."

A list of campaigning suffragists in Ohio reads like a roll call of veterans, daughters of veterans, all the regular army and a host of volunteers. They hold street meetings, mass meetings, picnics, parades and each week sees some new and picturesque method of getting suffrage propaganda before the people. Rose Schneiderman has made a remarkable series of speeches to the Trade Unionists and is winning the labor vote. Every one recognizes in Ohio the suffrage battlefield and all are fighting together to make the number 23 count victory in September.

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN THE BRONX

BY

HELEN SECOR-TONJES.

THREE years ago the Woman Suffrage Party was conceived and brought into existence by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, to be operated on the plan of political party organizations with its district leaders, captains, etc.; every borough having its chairman and quoto of officers, which, with the leaders, make up its executive board.

The Bronx was practically a missionary field, no suffrage clubs, no suffrage meetings had as yet disturbed the even tenor of its way. In this clubless community not half a dozen women could be found to take up the work.

As this story is unfolded, note how amenable it has been to the moulding process of the few devoted women who from its inception have been doing the pioneer work.

THE BRONX BEAUTIFUL.

Two women in the Brown responded to the first call of Mrs. Catt to organize, Mrs. E. Jean Nelson Penfield and Mrs. Helena Secor-Tonjes, both long residents of the Bronx Beautiful. (If you doubt the "beautiful," we challenge you to come over the river and see.) Yes, why not come over and see this Northern section of Greater New York?

Our section in the lower part of the Bronx is a problem in our work just as it is in Manhattan Borough. Beyond that is our beautiful Bronx with its educational centers second to none, with its accompanying environments, culture, refinement, charming people and much wealth. Churches, too—one of them the oldest church in America, a grand old stone structure; many splendid religious bodies scattered all over the Bronx to help civilize and direct the Bronxite into the straight and narrow path.

Mindful of the fact that all work and no play isn't good for either Jack or Jill, there are numerous eminently respectable theatres, "right up to date"; some of the "hits" of Manhattan even come up to the Bronx and leave with well-filled wallets. A representative community, surely. These facts are mentioned so that we may better understand each other. Recently a young clergyman, who had been assigned to a parish in the Bronx, amused his people one Sunday by asking them why it was that whenever he met any of his friends in the city (meaning Manhattan), on learning that his church is in the Bronx, they always exclaim, with a peculiar intonation and a sarcastic look: "The Bronx! So you live in the Bronx?"

The Bronx is very proud, and justly so, of some of their possessions; particularly the wonderful chain of magnificent parks and boulevards connecting them; Bronx Park, one of the largest and finest parks in the world; Cedar, Claremont, Crotona, Pelham Bay, St. Mary's and Van Cortland Parks; St. James, Echo, Franz Sigel, Macombs Dam and several smaller parks.

The residential districts remind one of the exclusive residential sections in many of the suburban towns, only more attractive, if possible; you discover these sections of private homes, with extensive gardens, lawns and driveways; veritable country in the heart of the Bronx—*and in the City of New York.*

The Borough of the Bronx includes all that territory North of the Harlem River to the city lines of Yonkers and Mount Vernon, containing more than 26,017 acres, almost twice the area of Manhattan Borough. On this great area are scattered about and huddled together in apartment houses nearly a million souls to be converted to our cause of equal franchise. Can a handful of women rally these thousands about them?

OUR PROUD POSSESSIONS.

Not the least of our proud possessions is the senator who championed our amendment and introduced it in two consecutive Legislatures. A victory almost complete was his and ours when

BRONX

OUR SENATOR.

Hon. Stephen J. Stilwell.

the bill passed triumphantly, only to be defeated by trickery at the last session of the Legislature by our determined foe, the assemblyman of the 30th Assembly District. But next year we will have the suffrage referendum. Senator Stephen J. Stilwell of the Bronx again at the helm, fighting to a finish our political enemies.

BRONX COUNTY.

Another good thing. We are a county now—unless the referendum says "No" on November 5th, which it will not.

We are determined to have Home Rule. To be governed by those among us, those who know us and our needs, and at least, have seen Bronx Borough Hall. Who championed the County Bill? Our good friend, Senator Stilwell and Governor Dix signed the bill.

OUR CHAIRMAN.

When Mrs. Catt decided on her tour around the world, she was much concerned about the welfare of the great party she had gotten so well on its way of usefulness. Whom could she leave to mother and lead it on to even greater things?

The pioneer work done in the Bronx by the first chairman of the borough decided Mrs. Catt on choosing her—our own Mrs. E. Jean Nelson Penfield, as her successor. This is one more of our proud possessions. None know her worth and sterling qualities better than her neighbors. We are glad to see her take command. A good general with well-earned laurels.

In her place as borough chairman came to us a dear little lady, strong and full of righteous fire in the cause of votes for women, Mrs. A. C. Fisk. She is supported by a group of earnest leaders.

THE BRONX PRESS.

Three years ago not a local Bronx newspaper was with us, scarcely willing to announce projected plans or meetings. To-day all the newspapers (we have but one daily) are most cordial to the movement and willingly publish any matter sent them in reference to our suffrage work. Even the editors have been converted, one in particular was, with his family, won to the cause at a mass meeting held in a church in the 32nd Assembly District. That meeting in point of numbers and enrollments of prominent people stands among our big achievements. Many of the Bronx pastors have placed at our disposal their churches for suffrage meetings.

OUT-DOOR CAMPAIGNING.

Last Summer the tent campaign at Clason Point Amusement Park was vigorously conducted from July 4th to Labor Day. Speaking afternoons and evenings. Men and women coming from all sections to aid in their heart-to-heart work. Thousands listened to the eloquent pleas for political equality that had never before heard the question discussed. If they had read of it, it was but to laugh and sneer. At least the cobwebs were brushed from many a befogged brain, and they have exclaimed in manifest surprise: "Is that what suffrage means? I didn't know it was anything like that!"

Two young women, possibly not more than sixteen, gaudily dressed, passed the tent during an interval in the speaking, and read our banners, "Votes for Women. Woman Suffrage Party." "Equal Rights," etc., then as they turned to go, said: "We're suffragettes, too. We don't believe in marriage, neither." Mrs. Fisk, our little mother with fluffy white hair, caught her breath. Folding them in her loving arms, she said—never mind what she said. She said it right and put them straight, then they passed on—out into the whirl and madness of a Summer night by the sea. Music, dancing and drinking across the

way gave us many pangs. We wished for more mothers to guide these stumbling lassies to a calmer sense of life and the real joy of living.

The thousands of leaflets given to the throngs as they passed, were received in various moods; some, with wife and child beside them, using language unfit to print. Another strikes down our outstretched hand as the wife reaches for the bit of paper; she turns pleadingly toward him, but to his word and look of anger she evidently is no stranger. They are soon lost in the crowd—he still belaboring us or her, or the cause.

The rank and file, or those who do not or will not go to halls or churches, have been the magnet that have drawn our leaders to the curbstone to talk Woman Suffrage. Only those who have wrestled with the question know the struggle before we capitulated and were willing to talk from soap boxes.

Two years now since our first street meetings, which have since been the most striking feature of our campaign. The audiences are always large and always remain to the end of the meeting—and then want more. The friendly discussions of questions from the crowd, seems to act more as a tonic than a disturbing element. The enrollments are large; the people buy the literature, buttons, etc., readily. We are many fold repaid by words of approval and mutual helpfulness from the eager listeners.

The honk-honk-honk of the passing autos when the chauffeur sees the "Votes for Women" banners fluttering to the breeze; the chink-chink-chink of the motorman's gong which he clangs so furiously at the sight of a suffrage meeting, are but a feather weight to the keen-eyed, tolerant suffragist who smiles and nods. What a trifle that is to the jeers and sneers of the early days of street meetings. Votes for women is no longer a joke, even in the streets of New York.

A strenuous campaign is now on till after the election in November. In every district of the Bronx there will be weekly meetings. On July 4th an automobile tour of the five Assembly Districts will be a feature of the day and evening. With autos gaily decorated, and the speakers gowned in white, our quartette singing "Votes For Women" words to patriotic music, the good cause will go marching on.

Two of our Assembly Districts are using for their headquarters the Republican District Club rooms, which are most cordially loaned for meetings and entertainments. Another district has leased a hall for their regular meetings held every other week. Two fine clubs have been organized in the 30th and 32nd Assembly Districts.

BRONX IN THE PARADE.

Our contribution to the great parade on May 4th, in comparison to that of last year when only thirty-eight silent marchers were in line, made even the on-lookers take notice. Led by a band we had specially engaged, banners flying, every district represented, we marched along with the inward satisfaction that "we from the Bronx" had evidently surprised some who knew the Bronx was somewhere on the map—but quite a long way off—as one called out, "Going to walk home?"

DONATIONS GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

In the Bronx we have to-day an enrollment of over ten thousand pledged to "Votes For Women." The campaign has cost us up to date, over one thousand dollars. What a bagatelle! We could use ten thousand to good advantage. How differently women must work for campaign funds. Our political brothers' "barrel" seems ever full. Women campaigning for the greatest political reform of the age must augment her funds, pennies at a time; selling buttons, pencils, literature, etc., for the fraction of a cent profit.

The widow's handful of meal and cruse of oil will not fail 'till our cause is won.

Mrs. E. Jean Nelson Penfield.

Chairman of The Woman Suffrage Party.

Sanatogen
THE FOOD-TONIC

Nerve Health is Life

Mme Sarah Grand,
Author of the "Heavenly Twins," writes:
"I began to take Sanatogen after nearly four years' enforced idleness from extreme debility, and felt the benefit almost immediately. And now, after taking it steadily three times a day for twelve weeks, I find myself able to enjoy both work and play again, and also am able to do as much of both as I ever did."

Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood, LL.D.,
Secretary International Peace Bureau, writes:
"I have used according to directions your Sanatogen, and find it not only a very pleasant and palatable food, but a good digester and assimilator. I find my stomach in a better condition after a two weeks' trial of it than it has been before for two years. I cheerfully recommend it to dyspeptics, over-worked clerks, feeble children, and aged people."

Lady Henry Somerset,
The prominent social reform advocate, writes:
"Sanatogen undoubtedly restores sleep, invigorates the nerves and braces the patient to health. I have watched its effect on people whose nervous systems have been entirely undermined, and I have proved Sanatogen to be most valuable."

Prof. C. A. Ewald,
of Berlin University, Doctor honoris causa University of Maryland, states in his contribution on "Typhus abdominalis":
"I can say that I have used Sanatogen in a great number of cases (that is, in those disturbances of metabolism which were mainly of a nervous or neurastbenic origin), and have obtained excellent results."

Mrs. Amelia E. Barr,
The well-known authoress, writes:
"I send my sincere gratitude for the marvelous help I have derived from the use of Sanatogen. When I commenced it seven weeks ago, I was in an extremity of nervous weakness brought on by long-continued mental work, accentuated by the shock of a bad fall backward. Slowly at first, but surely, it steadied and strengthened me, so that now I have almost my usual good health."

Under normal conditions, Nature keeps body and mind in a state of perpetual health. But we of to-day—living in crowded cities, working in ill-ventilated offices, walking in dusty streets amid ear-splitting noises—can we truly say we live under normal conditions?

No wonder our organs rebel at performing usual tasks under these unusual conditions. Nature cannot build fast enough to re-supply the torn-down tissues and worn-out nerves. Her danger signals are sleeplessness, weariness, indigestion, extreme fatigue—all calls for help. That's the time you need

Sanatogen
THE FOOD-TONIC

A scientific combination of Albumen and Sodium Glycerophosphate—two of the best known brain and body builders. It comes to you in the form of a fine white powder, easily dissolved in your daily beverage—coffee, milk, chocolate, etc. Sanatogen is endorsed and prescribed by thousands of physicians in every civilized country, as well as by noted authors, clergymen, actors, statesmen, etc.

Write for FREE Copy of "Our Nerves of To-morrow."

We want to send you a treatise by a capable medical author and editor, who proves that virtually nine out of every ten people are nervous sufferers—illustrates the cause and explains the remedy. In this book are also published many testimonials from world-famous physicians and laymen, praising the reconstructive power of Sanatogen. We will gladly send you a free copy on request.

Sanatogen is sold in three sizes—
$1.00—$1.90—$3.60

Get Sanatogen from your druggist—if not obtainable from him sent upon receipt of price by

THE BAUER CHEMICAL CO.
34T Irving Place New York

Two level teaspoonfuls three times a day means increased vigor and renewed vitality for either man or woman.

Name.....
Address.....
Druggist.....
Address.....

PARTY NOTES.

STAMPS FOR OHIO.

The 25th Assembly District is making its special feature of Summer work the selling of 50,000 suffrage stamps to help defray the expenses of the Ohio campaign. A Distribution Committee has been formed with Miss Mary Towle as chairman. The stamps are to be sold at one cent each. The 25th urges all members of the Party to co-operate in this enterprise. Help make the fund a big one. Send to Mrs. James Duane Livingston, 28 Seventh Avenue for stamps, and remember to give your money to the Committee by the first of August.

THE THIRD IN PROCESS.

A little over a year ago, the 3rd Assembly District was one of our most active. It had a leader and twelve captains doing excellent and aggressive work. It is now the only district without a leader. By one of those combinations of circumstances which we always have to face with a shifting New York population, we have lost one after another of our ardent and efficient workers there. Since Miss Swiss, the last leader, accepted a position in Canada, the work has been continued by canvassers, organizers and temporary workers from other districts. But we are laying the groundwork for a good organization. That is one of the wonderful things about the district work. It is making efficient citizens of thousands of us.

KEEP THE BEACON BURNING.

THIS is an appeal for your Treasury. The Party is working all the time in a hundred grooves and channels. At this season, having developed so much during the Winter, a thousand opportunities offer themselves which should be met. We need money to meet them.

While you are enjoying your restful vacation, many of our workers in the office and field are at their tasks. On a hot day, think of them and send us something to make the wheels work easier. On a cool day, say to yourself, "This is a possible day for organizing. I will send money to help one organizer do her work." Send us all you can spare as often as you can, for which, be it much or little—we thank you.

Sign and send the following pledge to Mrs. Margaret Chanler Aldrich, Treasurer, 30 East 34th Street.

I hereby pledge to the compaign fund of the Woman Suffrage Party the sum of.....

Name.....

Address.....

Date Payable:

When desired, the contribution may be paid in quarterly installments. $25 four times a year makes $100. We need many such pledges.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS.

Open-air meetings are the principal Summer activities with the districts.

THE 5th.

On June 6th, 7th and 10th, meetings were held on street corners and 125 enrollments taken at the three.

THE 10th.

On May 31st a special open-air meeting for wage-earners was held and about 300 listened with great interest.

THE 13th.

This district had been considered quite hopeless and without any suffrage interest until Miss Marion Swinton became leader a short time ago. Since then headquarters have been secured in the New Amsterdam Hall, which is also headquarters for the Republican and Democratic parties of the district, the assemblyman of the district voted for the Suffrage Bill, the last indoor meetings were packed, many street meetings have been held, and altogether Miss Swinton has made a wonderful success of the district.

THE 14th.

Rousing meetings were held at 34th Street, between Lexington and Third Avenues, on June 3rd and 10th. Mrs. Penfield and Miss Klatschken spoke and Mr. Moody, of California, gave an interesting talk on the situation there. June 10th another was held with five speakers. Woman's Economic Position and Child Labor were the topics of interest.

THE 15th.

The workers here have been especially active, holding frequent meetings to large audiences under the able direction of Miss Martha Klatschken. Many enrollments have been secured. Several evenings were showery, but the crowds still stayed to listen.

THE 17th.

On June 13th a large meeting was held at the corner of 96th Street and Broadway. Miss Swinnerton, Miss Alberta Hill, Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley spoke and Mrs. Morton presided. Forty-seven enrollments were secured and fourteen to the Men's League. Assemblyman Franklin Brooks, from the 17th, was an interested listener and displayed to one of the workers a suffrage button he was wearing on the *inside* of his lapel. Several politicians were present and many young people displayed much interest.

THE 19th.

On June 8th a meeting was held at the corner of 125th Street and Manhattan Street, under the direction of Miss Marion T. Burrett. On June 15th, Miss Anne Cooper presided at the street meeting, which was addressed by Miss Elizabeth Freeman and Mr. John Stacy.

THE 21st.

June 7th, a meeting was held at Broadway and 137th Street. Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale, Mr. Francis Moody spoke, and Mrs. Plimpton presided. The meeting was large and the speeches enthusiastically received. June 13th one was held at 127th Street and Seventh Avenue with several speakers. The Honorable John Crosby gave an interesting speech and was listened to by a large number of men.

THE 26th.

This district held its first meeting June 6th, at 110th Street and Fifth Avenue. The leader, Miss Chapman,

presided, assisted by Mrs. Hughston, and the speakers were listened to by a large and enthusiastic audience. Forty-two enrollments were secured, thirty-two by Augusta Schmitz. The police protection by the men from the 39th Precinct was most satisfactory. After leaving the meeting the speakers were stopped by several girls who asked to join the Party and by young men who raised their hats and called, "Hurrah for the Suffragettes!"

THE 31st.

Two street meetings have been held under the able chairmanship of May Bell Morgan. The crowds listened attentively and many enrollments were secured.

QUEENS BOROUGH.

The first eight meetings of an active campaign for "Votes for Women" were held in Queens Borough on June 10th. A whirlwind tour of the county was made by Mrs. Alfred J. Eno. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Mrs. Martha Wentworth Suffren, Miss Elizabeth Freeman were the speakers. Much literature was distributed. The first meeting was held at Jamaica at 10:30 A. M. From that time until 9 P. M. there was action. The best meeting was held in the evening at Richmond Hill. The Party was well received at the factory of LeLance and Grosjean at Corona, also at Ridgewood, Dennington Avenue, Woodhaven and Long Island City. The seaside resorts will be visited later in the season. Two new suffrage clubs were started, one in Astoria, the First Assembly District, and the other in Queens, the Fourth Assembly District.

BROOKLYN.

The 17th in Brooklyn held a most enthusiastic meeting at the home of Dr. Peebles and Dr. Edwards, June 12th. Mrs. Martha Wentworth Suffren and Mr. George B. Holbert spoke to such good purpose that half the audience joined the Party.

BOOKS

We hope to make this department a regular feature of this magazine and we ask the co-operation of our readers. In order to establish closer relations with publishers we must demonstrate that members of the Woman Suffrage Party are interested in new books concerning women and social progress. If you will mention THE WOMAN VOTER when you write for a book, or drop a card to the Publicity Agent of the publishing house mentioned in the review, stating that you heard of the book through us, it will be a service to THE VOTER and the Party.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons. By Grace Duffield Goodwin. Price, Fifty cents, net, Duffield & Company, New York.

No Surrender. By Constance E. Maud. Price, $1.25 net. John Lane Company, New York.

Folk Fesitvals. By Mary Master Needham. Price, $1.25. B. W. Huebsch, New York.

Our Judicial Oligarchy. By Gilbert E. Roe. Price, $1.00. B. W. Huebsch, New York.

Woman and Social Progress. By Scott and Nellie M. S. Nearing. Price, $1.50 net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The Citadel. By Samuel Merwin. Price, $1.25. The Century Company.

The Story of My Childhood. By Clara Barton. Price, Fifty cents, cloth; Seventy-five cents, leather. Baker, Taylor Company.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE: TEN GOOD REASONS.

THE author of *Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons* is greatly alarmed by the appearance of sex antagonism. One wonders whether sex antagonism between men and women is half as destructive and unnatural as the sex antagonism of woman against woman as set forth in Mrs. Goodwin's book. Of working women she says: "These women do not need to be hustled into the voting body where they will not know enough to help intelligently." Of women in politics she says: "A woman corrupt in politics has been shown to be worse than a man." In the following sentence she classifies as failures thousands of her own sex: "If a woman is not a mother she has failed to do the only thing for which in the original scheme of creation she was intended."

She points to four classes that menace society: (1) Negroes, of whom she says: "All negro women are more helpless and ignorant than the men." (2) Immigrants, of whom it is asserted: "All workers among these people recognize how much more backward is the foreign woman than the foreign man." (3) The intelligent conscienceless woman, who will play politics "for what there is in it." (4) The vicious woman, of whom she tells the following story:

"To a woman of this class, I said, 'Do you want to vote?' 'Yes,' she replied. 'Why?' I asked. 'What would you do with the ballot?' 'God,' she breathed, raising tragic arms above her head, 'I'd sell it and take a vacation!'" This story is offered without comment as an anti-suffrage argument.

This summary of four menacing classes is concluded by the following condemnation: "Over against these four classes of undesirable voters among women, would be the comparatively small number of earnest, intelligent women capable of handling public affairs. They would be overwhelmned by numbers."

The author is evidently a refined and cultivated woman who tries to curb her emotions. But her effort breaks down when she touches the subject of our English sisters, whom she regards as "riotous, spectacular women, who incite one another to every frenzy of hysterical lawlessness." Again, they are referred to as "frenzied and hysterical women, unthinking, illogical, carried along by an excited mob of lunatics." How this Anti loves her sister women across the sea! And the American women are not much better,

When women get the right to vote,
And help to run the nation,
There is no doubt this rally shout
Will win by acclamation

LIPTON'S TEA

Honest Tea Is The Best Policy

for after the above comment, she says: "The militant methods require no comment. The pacific methods are also very objectionable." The poor woman is without hope, for she adds: "Their methods of warfare will be the same later as they are now, childishly lawless where militant, ignorant or cruel where pacific."

It is comforting to know that however hard she is on women, Mrs. Goodwin is not really devoid of human sympathy. She is merely saving it all for the men. "The anti-suffragists," she explains, "desire to give men time to cope with these huge new problems; to endeavor to understand their difficulties; to utter no rash judgments." Then in another burst of womanly sympathy for brother man she tells us "The laws of Massachusetts are so favorable to women that one is tempted to drop a sympathetic tear for the oppressions of the Massachusetts man."

The platform of the Woman Suffrage Party is quoted in full and carefully analyzed by this friend of man. Her reply to our denunciation of "a political system which robs the home of adequate representatives," is as follows: "The man who brings in the money adequately represents the home."

The author's sense of woman's insignificance impells her to assert, "The cause of woman suffrage is not supremely urgent, and is in no way comparable to the liberating struggles for religious and political freedom which the world has sometimes seen."—M. J. H.

NO SURRENDER.

ON Chairmany alzo we 'ave does vimmons," she (the German housekeeper in an English home) informed Parkins; "dee outsides of 'em is jest goot, blain gurls—dee insides of 'em is ready for blut unt death, I dell you." Thus is the spirit of militant womanhood explained in *No Surrender*.

One can hardly imagine a more dramatic setting for a love story than the militant suffrage movement in England, and Constance E. Maud uses her pen with such skill that the story, despite its theme, remains a story and not a propaganda tract. In the adventures of Jenny Clegg, the mill worker who becomes a leader among the suffragettes, is an epitome of the whole social situation in England to-day, with its striking injustices, not only to women but to the whole working class. It would be difficult to follow Jenny's career from the factory to prison and not sympathize with the revolt which she expresses. Indeed, if militancy needs defence, *No Surrender* is a convincing argument and one should read it before throwing the first stone of criticism.

The last chapter, "The Passing of the Women," contains an impressive description of the great suffrage parade. A story, based on fact, adds just the touch of humor which carries us from the sublime to the ridiculous.

"And now the crowd below were making merry over a new diversion—a small, dilapidated trail of sandwich men, whom the stream was bearing on its fringe like the straws and sticks of debris on the edge of a flood. Their boards bore the comic announcement, in letters of dull red on a ground of grimy white: "Women do *not* want the vote!"

The mud, that a few years before would have been flung at the women, had found a new target. Gladly the poor sandwiches would have hidden their diminished heads, such was the uproarious merriment they excited. But they were starving, poor creatures, and the men who hired them expected the work to be done for which they paid. It was typical of the anti that he, or she, should do their propaganda by deputy, and such deputies. Only when Lord Wimperdale, Mr. Crowley, Mrs. Prendergast and Miss Selina Crompton begin to parade their own sandwich boards, as the suffragist women so often have done, will they convince the men and women in the street, or on the fence, of the sincerity of their purpose, let alone the righteousness of their Cause."

PENELOPE'S
19 EAST 31ST STREET
EMBROIDERIES
OF ALL KINDS
Blouses
Dressing Jackets
Italian Cut Work
Cushions
NEEDLECRAFT SCHOOL
TELEPHONE
MAD. SQ. 1262

James McCreery & Co.
23rd Street 34th Street
FUR STORAGE
Dry Cold Air—New Improved Method.
Storage Vault on Premises.
Furs, Fur Trimmed Garments and Rugs received for storage.
Charges for alterations and repairs are lower during the Summer months.
Telephone 6380 Greeley
23rd Street 34th Street
New York

LEWIS & CONGER
HAVE REMOVED THEIR
Housefurnishing Warerooms
TO
45th Street and 6th Avenue

DON'T ENVY A GOOD FORM!
Consult KATHRYN KAHILL
TEACHER OF PHYSICAL CULTURE
Nervous Prostration Cured
Nervous Women and Children Developed
Stammering and Stuttering Cured
HIGHEST TESTIMONIALS. SEND FOR FREE BOOKLET
Studio, 1550 BROADWAY, Entrance, 168 West 46th Stree
PHONE, 3661 BRYANT NEW YORK CITY

SUFFRAGISTS

POST CARDS

FOR USE THIS SUMMER

Send 10 cents in stamps for 6 cards by mail

TO YOUR LOCAL PARTY OR THE PUBLISHERS

AN EASY WAY

HELP THE CAUSE

Copyright, Ella Buchanan Sc. 1911

"THE SUFFRAGIST AROUSING HER SISTERS"

Adopted as the Emblem of leading Suffrage Clubs.

MONEY EASILY MADE SELLING

Paper "Stamps," Postal Cards, Photogravures, Statuettes

THE ELMAN ART CO.

1170 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY

EXORA FACE POWDER

is the *only* face powder that stays on—one application lasts all day. Guaranteed pure by Prof. Doremus (late of Bellevue Medical College, New York). Sold everywhere or sent on receipt of price—50c. Specify White, Flesh or Brunette.

Send name and address of your dealer and we will send you Free Samples of Exora Face Powder, Exora Rouge and Exora Cream. Enclose two two-cent stamps for postage and packing. Write to us *now*.

CHAS. MEYER, 103-105 West 13th St., NEW YORK

Dodge's Dry Ceaning Steam Laundering and Dyeing

Telephone Morningside 630

Quality Kind

1234 Amsterdam Ave.

19th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

The Thistle

BREAKFAST and LUNCHEON

Prompt and Efficient Service

180 MADISON AVE.

Just below 34th Street

NEW YORK

DINNER, 60c. *from* 6 to 7.30 p. m.

HOME COOKING

J. J. O'Brien & Son

PRINTERS & STATIONERS

Designers of Booklets in Black and Colors

Office Supplies Desk Fitments

122 EAST TWENTY-THIRD STREET

TELEPHONE NUMBER 2532 GRAMERCY

Mrs. Hughston urges volunteer workers to remember that Wednesdays are VOTER days. Come between ten and four o'clock to get your copies of THE WOMAN VOTER and receive instructions concerning the selling.

MISS L. V. WHEELER

SUITE 4003-4 METROPOLITAN BUILDING

1 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK

Facsimile Letters in English, French, Spanish, German, Italian. Wide Carriage Work. Stenographic Work. Manuscript Copying. Specifications. Mimeographing.

TELEPHONE - - - - - GRAMERCY 3153

ORIGINAL

RÉCAMIER CREAM

FOR THE COMPLEXION

Will cure a bad skin and preserve a good one. Has been used for near a century.

For sale everywhere, or sent upon receipt of price.

Two sizes—
50c. and $1.00

RÉCAMIER MFG. CO., No. 133 WEST 31st ST., N. Y. CITY

Send for interesting illustrated booklet

"The Spoil of the Spoilers"

BY ISADORA H. DIX

SUBSCRIBE to this book, and make it a present to the inexperienced young girl, to the young wife, to the young mother, or to one who is opposed to the Woman's Vote. The story is the history of a woman, who blindly and ignorantly trusts to the promises of an idle and drunken husband—a rich man's son, who is allowed to vote,—to the usurious money-lender, who is allowed to vote,—to the criminally conspiring lawyer, who is allowed to vote,—to the tricky real estate dealer, who is allowed to vote, and lastly, to grafting members of the police force (to whom she appeals for protection), who also are allowed to vote.

This book is being published by subscription. Send $1.25 to Isadora H. Dix, 169 West 98th St., New York City, N. Y., or send your promise that you will pay for the book on delivery.

We want to know if you read these advertisements

To find out—we will send you a tube each of

Plexo Greaseless Cream

Plexo Cleansing Cream

Plexo Evening White

Plexo Dental Crême

USE THE COUPON
and send with 10 cents to

.....1912

Enclosed find 10 cents, for which send the four tubes to

Name.....

Address.....

.....

.....

WRITE PLAINLY WOMAN VOTER

Plexo Preparations, Inc., 14 Vesey St., New York

The crowning attribute of lovely woman is cleanliness

NAIAD

[UNSEEN—NAIAD PROTECTS]

DRESS SHIELD

SUPREME IN

BEAUTY! QUALITY! CLEANLINESS!

Possesses two important and exclusive features. IT DOES NOT DETERIORATE WITH AGE and fall to powder in the dress—CAN BE EASILY AND QUICKLY STERILIZED by immersing in boiling water for a few seconds only.

At the stores or sample pair on receipt of 25 cents.

GUARANTEE WITH EVERY PAIR

The C. E. Conover Co., Mfrs.

101 FRANKLIN ST., NEW YORK

M. A. O'CONNOR

PRINTING

For Particular People

High Grade Work
Reasonable
Prices, Prompt
Deliveries

Everything that can be done with type, ink and paper.

Publications, Catalogs, Club and Commercial Work

22 North William Street

Manhattan Borough, New York City

PHONE, BEEKMAN 3496

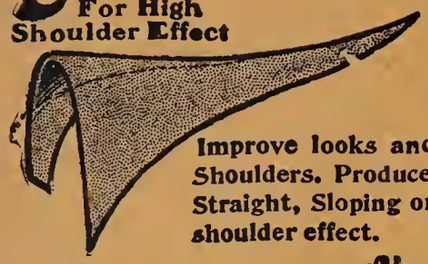
Specialties Make Home Dressmaking Easy

SAVE TIME AND MONEY

Grean Shoulder Forms

PATENTED

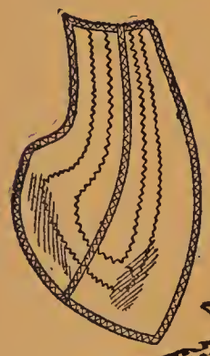
For High Shoulder Effect



Improve looks and fit of Shoulders. Produce either Straight, Sloping or High shoulder effect.

For Straight Shoulder Effect

For Heavy Coats, Padded..... No. 60
For Lighter Coats, Not Padded... No. 68
For Soft Silk or Velvet..... No. 84
Price 15c. a pair



Grean Hair Cloth Bust Form

For stiffening of all kinds of coats requiring it.

Made of best haircloth and wadding. Tailor Pad—Stitched and beautifully shaped. No. 618.

Price, 50 cents.

Grean Improved Arm Pad

Patented

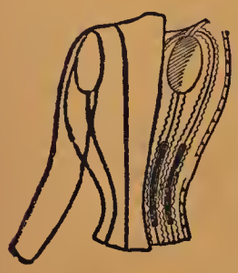
A Useful Pad, surrounding the Arm-Scye, and filling in the generally hollow parts near the arm hole. It has very long overlapping points slightly padded for the shoulder. Made of graduating pieces of felt. Style No. 16. Price, 15 cents.

Grean Waist Linings

Almost - finished - Lining made on the New-principle. Ready for draping, boned, with hooks and eyes, basted seams above boned portion. Fits beautifully; cut on up-to-date patterns. Open Front or Back. Sizes, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33 around the waist. Order by the exact size of your waist, not of the bust. Made in white, gray and black best percaline.

Price, $1.00.

In Silk Corsica, Price $3.50 to $4.



Grean Tailor-Made Coat-Fronts

Pat. Pending

Made of thoroughly shrunk, pure linen Tailor Canvas. White or tan. Reinforced with fine Hair Cloth and Felt. Soft, pliable and firm.

Made in three sizes:

Small.....for 32 to 34
Medium.....for 36 to 38
Large.....for 40 to 44
No. 632 with Felt Arm Pad, $1.00
No. 631 without Arm Pad, 85c.

Grean Silk Covered Collar Supports

Guaranteed Rustproof. Invisible. Pliable. Heavily covered with Pure Silk Floss. No ends to scratch. Most Comfortable. Will support high collars where others fail. Sold in Transparent, Sealed Envelopes to insure cleanliness. Made in Black or White.

2, 2¼, 2½, 2¾, 3, 3½, 4 inches high.
10 cents a package containing three.
15 cents a package containing five.

SUPPORTERS
Pat. Pending

All Grean Specialties are designed by practical Tailor and Dressmaker, and are guaranteed to be as represented.

Beware of imitations.

Order by name Grean

All Grean Specialties are for sale at Notion or Lining Departments in best stores throughout United States and Canada. Ask for them at your dealers, or write direct to

Grean Shoulder Form and Pad Co., 327 E. 34th St., N.Y.